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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 22 September 1992, at 3 p.m.

President:	Mr. GANEV	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. PHOOFOLO (Vice-President)	(Lesotho)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)
later:	Mr. PHOOFOLO (Vice-President)	(Lesotho)
later:	Mr. GANEV (President)	(Bulgaria)

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- Address by Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia

- Address by Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus

- General debate [9] (continued)

    Statements made by

    Mr. Kanju (Pakistan)
    Mr. Watanabe (Japan)
    Mr. Skubiszewski (Poland)
    Mrs. af Ugglas (Sweden)
    Mr. Silva Cimma (Chile)

- Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations [111] (continued)

- General debate [9] (continued)

    Statements made by

    Mr. Pinheiro (Portugal)
    Mrs. Bongo (Gabon)

- Adoption of the agenda and organization of work [8] (continued)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANJO TUDJMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Croatia.

Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Croatia, His Excellency Mr. Franjo Tudjman, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President TUDJMAN (spoke in Croatian; English text furnished by the delegation): It was exactly four months ago that for the first time I had the honour of addressing you, the representatives of sovereign States members of the global community, in our common House, the General Assembly of the United Nations. Membership in the United Nations is the crowning international confirmation of the sovereign statehood of a State.

(spoke in English)

To the Republic of Croatia it meant the final realization of the just aspiration of the Croatian people to self-determination and freedom, which that people - although one of the oldest European nations - succeeded in regaining only after nine centuries of life in multinational state communities in which, to be sure, they preserved their national identity and the identity of their state but did not enjoy internationally recognized sovereignty.

The creation of our independent State was the outcome of the indestructible moral strength of the Croatian people, based on a firm national awareness that has burned for centuries as an eternal fire in our hearts. A nation may have existed from time immemorial, but if it lacks the moral strength and an awareness of its unique individual being, of its nationhood and statehood, it will disappear from the stage of world history. The Croatian people yearned for their State and rallied to achieve it.

In their relatively long history - from the seventh century to this very day - the Croatian people have taken pride in authentic testimony in stone and in the written word to their existence and to their unquenchable yearning for freedom and for their own place among the nations of the world. It was in that very spirit that the great seventeenth-century Croatian poet Ivan Gundulić wrote - in his city of Dubrovnik, that jewel of the heritage of Croatia and the world which in our time has suffered barbaric destruction - his ode to freedom, which starts with the following lines:

"*O lijepa, o draga, o slatka slobodo,*
Dar u kom sva blaga višnji nam Bog je do ..."

Those verses express the eternal faith in freedom that has been granted us as a supreme gift by the Almighty, a gift man has cherished, lived for and died for since time immemorial, as an independent, cultured and civilized being - not only as an individual, but also as a member of his people and of mankind as a whole. Just as the individual wants to live as a free, rational and unique being, a people can be recognized and appreciated only if it is aware of itself and of its uniqueness in the world.

The Croatian people had their own independent kingdom in the Middle Ages. Today they have again achieved full State sovereignty, demonstrating to the world their deep faith in and allegiance to freedom, their respect for justice, and their wish for peace and the development of their State within the international community of peace-loving, equal and independent States.

When it joined the United Nations the Republic of Croatia solemnly committed itself to respect the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and the system of values and undertakings on which the global community is based. On this occasion, let me once again solemnly reiterate our profound allegiance to the principles of the United Nations.

We are faced with the historical responsibility to establish a new international order, an order of equality and the protection of the rights of all States and nations, national minorities and individuals. At the same time, this poses the challenge of building a world without war, a world with a healthy environment, a world of progress for all the inhabitants of the Earth.

For the first time in the history of mankind, the conditions have been created for achieving those noble goals. After the disintegration of the colonial empires following the Second World War, and after the appearance of new nations capable of forming States - but also of so-called ahistorical nations - on the global scene, we have finally seen the end of division into blocs and the collapse of numerous despotic regimes throughout the world. Obviously - and by no means accidentally - the collapse of such regimes has been associated and has coincided with the collapse of some multinational States in which nations were held together through repression by totalitarian regimes or through domination by single nations.

Human society has entered a period in its historical development of the overall integration of civilizations, but also of national individualization. In other words, the world has become immeasurably interdependent in terms of development, technology, transport, ecology, culture and the exchange of information, but the number of independent international entities has been increasing continuously. Reconciling this contradiction imposes the necessity to seek mediation, and even the firm involvement of the entire international community, to resolve outstanding and new local and regional crises.

Over the past two-year period, in which Croatia gained its sovereignty, the United Nations has reaffirmed its fundamental principles and tenets: peace and democracy as the foundations of international relations. This Organization has resolutely and efficiently opposed attempts to resolve international disputes by force or to infringe, through aggressive wars and the provocation of regional crises, on the right of nations to self-determination and on the territorial integrity of sovereign members of the international community. The determined military action in the Gulf war and the peace operations in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Cambodia are effective proof that the United Nations, with its active role, is becoming increasingly capable of countering aggression and of bringing about peace. However, the experience acquired by the United Nations through peacemaking and peace-keeping operations and in controlling aggression indicates that the process of international agreement and the achievement of consensus in the initiation of peace operations is still slow and is not efficient enough.

The Republic of Croatia welcomes and fully supports the activities so far undertaken by the United Nations to extinguish crises throughout the world, aware of the fact that a passive attitude or compromise towards the exponents of aggression and a new deterioration in international relations would be much more costly and involve substantially greater loss of human life and suffering. Nevertheless, it is the view of the Republic of Croatia that the future international peace-keeping activity of the United Nations will have to be expanded to include adequate preventive diplomacy, peacemaking efforts and post-war confidence building, precisely in order to keep human suffering and the danger of the spread of aggression to a minimum.

Moreover, the Republic of Croatia perceives the need to channel the immediate future involvement of the international community, and thereby the programmes of the United Nations, along the following main lines of activity.

First, the global economy must pull itself out of the deepening recession, and then an accelerated development cycle should be promoted, involving a higher degree of coordination and economic cooperation between the developed North and the developing countries. Our generation and the global community would bear a heavy responsibility to posterity if they permitted the recently ended opposition of East and West to be replaced by new barriers and a lack of trust between the industrially developed West and North and the third world.

Secondly, an equally important task of the United Nations concerns the persistent and firm promotion of democratic freedoms and human rights throughout the world. This is a necessity because economic and overall development can no longer even be imagined, much less realized, merely on the basis of economic categories and criteria; it can be brought about only with the parallel establishment of human rights and a democratic order encompassing political liberties and social rights alike.

In this respect, Croatia welcomes the decision to convene the World Conference on Human Rights in September next year. Croatia will actively contribute to the preparations for this important - I should say "historic" - meeting, first by resolutely strengthening democratic institutions in our own country, which has only recently got rid of its totalitarian regime and alien domination. Moreover, within the scope of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), Croatia has offered to host the CSCE seminar on minority problems which, we hope, will be held in the historic setting of Brijuni Island next May.

The Republic of Croatia resolutely endorses the conclusions of the Rio Summit, convinced that sustainable development is the proper answer to the requirements of the global community and to the environmental balance of our planet. The protection of the environment is an important strategic issue in Croatia's long-term development. The Gulf war and the war operations in the former Yugoslavia have posed major threats to ecological systems. Because of this, the protection of the environment is not only a developmental issue, but also a major political and security issue.

Last but not least, the future activity of the international community and of the United Nations should also be focused on - in addition to the effective prevention of aggression as a means to settle international differences - eliminating all sources of crises world-wide in order to establish a permanent and just peace. This complex task will involve a painstaking process of agreement and reconciliation of objectively differing views and interests, taking due account of the limited resources of the international community. However, the stakes and anticipated results for the entire international community are so great and historically far-reaching that they deserve every possible effort and the use of all resources in order to achieve humanity's supreme goal: permanent peace and general welfare in a stable international order.

The role of the United Nations has been, and will remain, irreplaceable in ensuring the rights of nations to self-determination and the civil and human rights of ethnic communities and minorities. The United Nations can and must play an important role in controlling changes in societies that are ridding themselves of totalitarian systems on their way to democratic political and economic transformation.

In line with such ideas, Croatia has already enacted - in wartime conditions, and in spite of the aggression waged by the Yugo-communist army and Serbia and Montenegro and of the externally incited revolt of part of the Serbian population in its territory - a constitutional law on the protection of minorities that is more liberal than many similar pieces of legislation anywhere in the world. Croatia is prepared to contribute actively to the development of an international code and standard for the protection of the rights of ethnic communities and national minorities, to be used as guidelines in the development of national legislation and rules for the settlement of future controversies.

We support enhancement of the role of the General Assembly as a global advisory parliament and of the Security Council as the body most responsible for international peace and security. This implies a higher responsibility for the members of the Security Council, and the permanent members in particular. We therefore support the initiative to expand the Security Council with new permanent members, because this would reflect the new global reality and allow for more harmonious regional representation. We also believe that the role of the Economic and Social Council in the solution of problems within its sphere of competence should be strengthened.

Let me take this opportunity to stress in particular that Croatia fully agrees with the statement of the Secretary-General on regional conflicts as a threat to global peace and progress, made at the Department of Public Information's Annual Conference for Non-governmental Organizations, on 9 September. The regional conflicts of our time are no longer comparable to those of the cold war, when the warring sides represented conflicting ideologies. Present-day regional conflicts are the expression of purely imperialist or conquest-minded policies. They are not only the cause of terrible tragedy - because of the casualties suffered predominantly by the civilian population, the destruction of property and the displacement of people from their homes - but also a threat to peace in a wider area, and even globally.

Although one of the main principles of the United Nations Charter entails non-interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign States, many current conflicts occurring within the borders of particular States have shown that such developments should become the concern of the United Nations when general human principles are violated and international peace is threatened. As the Secretary-General has stated with a profound feeling of moral responsibility, it is the duty of the United Nations to support the dignity of human beings and to ensure the safety of their lives, regardless of the type of conflict, be it general, regional or confined to a specific country.

When chaos within a State threatens to bring down civilized and democratic order, when tyranny crosses the boundaries set by moral standards accepted by humankind, and when a regional conflict may jeopardize the foundations of international order, peace and security, the United Nations must be able to take action. Most States, if not the entire international community, are also threatened when the existence of a single United Nations Member is placed in jeopardy. The examples of Cambodia, Somalia and, unfortunately, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina suffice to confirm the correctness of this view.

Let me remind the Assembly of the contribution of the struggle of the Croatian people for freedom to the establishment of the rights of small nations, to the collapse of totalitarian regimes and to a new democratic atmosphere in international relations in central and south-eastern Europe. The awakened national awareness of east and central European nations made the major contribution to the dissolution of the totalitarian communist system. Their struggle against communist socialism, particularly in multinational State communities, was a struggle for national emancipation and for civil rights. Initially it was mistakenly understood, and, in some cases even today it is mistakenly understood, as retrograde nationalism or autarchic separatism, or has simply been put down as ethnic conflict and struggle for power.

The processes of regional and worldwide integration on the one hand and the disintegration of multinational States on the other are only seemingly at odds. The newly emerged States in the area of the former Yugoslavia or the former Soviet Union do not aspire to autarchy. It is precisely such countries that most require purposeful integration and openness to cooperation. However, within the new post-communist democratic atmosphere small nations want to preserve their own identity and the right to their own States so that they may be subjects, and not objects, within the scope of the epoch-making changes taking place in the modern world.

At the very beginning of the national and political emancipation of the Croatian people we were aware of the complexities and possible risks underlying the collapse of the past regime within a multinational State community. Therefore, we patiently tried to resolve the crisis of the former Yugoslav federation by political negotiation and by proposing a confederal agreement in order to avoid war. From the very beginning we supported the internationalization of the crisis, and by such an approach we have succeeded in turning international democratic public opinion to our advantage.

Today, having achieved military and moral victory in the war that was forced upon our country, we are still ready for a political solution of all internal and international problems in order that the conditions necessary for permanent internal and regional stability and cooperation between the newly emerged States may be created.

The recent just struggle of the Croatian and other peoples for their sovereignty has contributed to the development of a different attitude towards the rights of small nations to independence and to their own States. This unequal struggle has, in fact, affirmed the superiority of the democratically manifested right to self-determination of nations over the principle of the integrity of existing multinational States, and in this connection it has also brought about new changes in international law and international relations.

The position of small or less developed nations and States within the international order is the key to regional and international stability and cooperation and to just international relations. Without the confirmation of their right to State individuality the United Nations would now consist of about 50, and not 179, Member States. Our recent experience has shown that stable peace and a firm international order are not possible in the post-cold-war world without the security and sovereignty of small nations. It is for these reasons that we believe that the international community is entitled to interfere in the internal affairs of countries in cases involving the control of aggression, humanitarian intervention, the protection of the rights of individuals and of national minorities and the preservation of the environment, in accordance with the principles of, and through mechanisms endorsed by, the international community.

Accordingly, we would welcome such a new role for the United Nations, as well as for such regional organizations as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which would guarantee the protection of the security of all Member States in a process ranging from peace mediation to the imposition of peace. Without such a role the United Nations could not handle such crises as the one affecting the former Yugoslavia. The chief responsibility for international security rests with the Security Council, but the regional organizations should assume the main burden of implementing policy, based on United Nations principles. For this reason we support the establishment of permanent regional military forces capable of rapid peace mediation and action to prevent conflict or repel aggression.

Furthermore, Croatia firmly supports the Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" and the process of establishing permanent United Nations military forces. In the post-cold-war world, when regional conflicts present the major threat to world security, international peace-keeping and peace-making forces are emerging as the watershed between chaos and stability. Croatia is ready to participate in these forces and to help to bring peace to troubled areas around the world.

Had such mechanisms existed, the disastrous Yugo-communist and Serbo-Montenegrin aggression against Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina might have been averted. This crisis has obviously reaffirmed the equal right of all nations, particularly young or small nations, to security and has enhanced the need to create such mechanisms.

In view of what I have said, we would support the development of a regional security system in our area, a system that could also serve as a model for other crisis areas. Because of their geopolitical importance, ethnic mix and painful historical experience, it is precisely the Balkans and south-eastern Europe that would necessarily require the development of such a model of international regional security congruent with the general system of common security in order that the stability of the global order might be achieved.

This implies consideration of all steps to bring about confidence-building and mutual guarantees, the establishment and maintenance of the balance of power and the creation of security zones and protected areas, along with the adjustment and supervision of defensive and other armed forces and doctrines.

In order to achieve stability in this part of Europe, in which the processes of both stabilization in the Eastern Mediterranean and in south-eastern Europe and the establishment of stable relations among the newly emerged States are still to be completed, Croatia is prepared to take the initiative in convening an international conference of the countries in the area in order to consider the future model of regional security and cooperation based on common interests and principles embodied in the United Nations Charter and CSCE documents.

The Republic of Croatia endorses the coordinated process of regional and general disarmament and welcomes the results already achieved in heavy-armament reduction by the big Powers. Croatia is prepared to cooperate with other countries in reallocating military expenditures to the reconstruction of war-ravaged areas and to peacetime development.

This concerns in particular the new States which require international cooperation in the implementation of their democratic and market reforms in order to bolster their domestic stability. The role and the responsibility of the international community are to be seen in the light of the fact that these societies are not strong enough to be able rapidly to become part of the integration processes. Because of this the speedy integration of new States into financial and other institutions should be promoted.

We endorse automatic international intervention and other punitive measures when the territorial integrity of other countries is seriously threatened. The United Nations should also envisage a way to prevent the use of military force against the peaceful expression of political will in the solution of domestic political issues. The brutal use of military force against one's own people should not in our time be regarded as merely an internal political problem.

We endorse the establishment of a permanent international court for the punishment of war crimes and all actions involving the deliberate violation of peace and international conventions and endangering the lives of the civilian population.

In support of an open economy and market principles we propose, within the scope of international development strategies, identifying ways and means to favour and facilitate the transfer of technology, knowledge and the necessary resources to less developed countries or countries destroyed by war. To our mind, it is precisely the United Nations and its agencies that ought to play an important role in this process. The United Nations and its agencies ought to take the lead in handling the return of refugees and the reconstruction of their homes, destroyed cultural monuments, industrial plants and infrastructural facilities - processes that are of particular importance to our country.

The earliest solution of all issues regarding the succession of States in accordance with international law is of the highest importance for Croatia and other States that have emerged in the area of the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. In supporting the solution of these issues we are prepared, especially for economic reasons, to make an additional effort in order to codify the experience and norms of international law in this sphere.

On this occasion I cannot but add a few words of criticism concerning the inadequate action by international factors to solve the crisis in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, more precisely in preventing the brutal aggression waged by Serbia and Montenegro against Croatia and Bosnia and

Herzegovina. Croatia appreciates the efforts of the international community - from the United Nations, the European Community and the CSCE to all those international factors that have helped us to stop a mindless and most brutal war waged at the expense of the civilian population before the eyes of the civilized world. We express our deepest sympathy for the human losses the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has suffered in the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the performance of its noblest task.

What is really happening there is the sustained aggression of Serbia and Montenegro, now acting under the new name of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, against two sovereign and independent States Members of the United Nations - Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unless stopped, this aggression may mushroom into a conflict on a much broader scale which could spread the disaster of war to the entire European continent, maybe even to the rest of the world. Unfortunately, in spite of that situation the global community has not yet identified a sufficiently efficient mechanism to stop aggression or an effective way to stop brutal destruction, such as Europe has hardly ever experienced, associated with the most barbaric form of "ethnic cleansing". The implementation of the Vance plan, created with the authority of the United Nations, is also falling behind schedule because of constant Serbian and Montenegrin sabotage.

The mission of UNPROFOR must be seriously speeded up and fully implemented within the mandate of the peace-keeping force. Otherwise it will become meaningless and produce the justified indignation and frustration of the Croatian people who continue to suffer the consequences of aggression. Croatian authorities find it increasingly difficult to control the justified discontent of people displaced from their homes in their own homeland, people who have accepted the role and the intentions of the United Nations and the European Community with optimism and the firm conviction that the wrongs they have suffered would be redressed. These people find it difficult to understand why the international community cannot show, in this particular case, the necessary determination that was shown in the instance of an identical aggression against another sovereign and independent State. The United Nations must summon the will and the power to use all the resources at its disposal in order to bring the war in Croatia to a close and to stop the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the opposite case, if the aggressor is permitted to continue to implement his plan of conquest, the reputation of the United Nations will suffer badly.

Finally, let me express my conviction that the United Nations will fulfil its historical task. For its part the Republic of Croatia is prepared to contribute its share in every respect as a full member of the global community.

With the holding of multi-party parliamentary elections for the second time in the past two years, in spite of the war forced upon the country, Croatia has severed all links with its communist past and strengthened its democratic order and international position.

Having committed itself in its Constitution - in political and economic terms and in all spheres of spiritual and material development - to those principles of democracy and pluralism which also underlie the United Nations, Croatia has declared its openness to cooperation with all its neighbours and other countries in Europe and world wide. Croatia wants to be a factor of peace and stability in the international order in its part of the world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Croatia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

ADDRESS BY MR. GEORGE VASSILIOU, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of Cyprus.

Mr. George Vassiliou, President of Cyprus, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of Cyprus, His Excellency Mr. George Vassiliou, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President VASSILIOU: The memory of the cold war is fading rapidly in people's minds. Yet, the efforts for adaptation to a world not structured by the East-West divide have not yet been undertaken. As the images of violence, famine and destruction flicker on our television sets the urge that something must be done quickly seizes the consciousness and imagination of people everywhere.

The world community turns to the United Nations - the only universal forum at its disposal - full of expectations that it will succeed in putting an end to the violence, the senseless destruction of human life and economic resources which, at this very moment, are plunging millions of people in every part of the world into despair.

The end of the cold war confrontation opened the way for increased cooperation. The triumph of democracy and the cooperation of the major Powers created possibilities for the resolution of conflicts which had originated in, or were maintained by, the earlier East-West confrontation. The universal aspiration for a world of peace, liberated from the bondage of insecurity, was thus quite rightly roused.

During this post-cold-war period we have witnessed positive developments in many regional problems, particularly Cambodia, Southern Africa, Central America and elsewhere. At the same time, an effort has been undertaken to find lasting peace in the Middle East through the convening of a peace conference. We welcome this positive and important development in the hope that it will lead to a comprehensive solution, safeguarding the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people while, at the same time, ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). For it is our position that all United Nations resolutions must be implemented, whichever country they concern, be it Iraq, Cyprus or former Yugoslavia.

Furthermore we welcome the developments in South Africa that should lead to the end of the abhorrent regime of apartheid, in the hope that never again will any human beings on the face of this Earth be forced to live in conditions of racial, ethnic, religious or other separation from their fellow human beings.

The fact that today we welcome 20 new Members in this universal Organization is sufficient evidence of the tremendous forces at work following the end of the East-West divide. Welcoming each and every one of these countries, and all of them as a whole, I express our desire to work and cooperate with them to uphold the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of peace, security and the well-being of all.

The conditions are favourable for the United Nations, as the process for a much stronger and effective Organization matures and gains momentum. However, the challenges that the Organization and its Members are called upon to meet are also crucial, for, as the old order crumbled, unparalleled forces of destruction were also unleashed.

(President Vassiliou)

The aspirations of humanity for a better world meet with disappointment in every part of the world. The proliferation of conflicts, due to a variety of reasons, is the other face of Janus. Along with the conflicts come the long lines of refugees, the dead, the starving children, looking desperately to each one of us.

Eighteen years after Cyprus suffered the devastating effects of "ethnic cleansing" following the Turkish invasion of 1974, we are again witnessing the restaging of similar tragedies in other parts of the world. In 1974, Turkey, a strong neighbour of small Cyprus, invaded and occupied 37 per cent of the territory of the Republic. One third of the Greek Cypriots were evicted from their ancestral homes and properties in order to create "ethnically clean areas". Being weak and defenseless, we turned to the United Nations. It is to the United Nations that a great part of humanity is at this very moment also turning for help.

The demands are greater now and they are tending to increase. The fact that the world Organization is free of the fetters imposed by the adversarial relations of the super-Powers in the cold war era enhances its possibilities. The burden, however, will be unbearable if the process towards a more effective United Nations, with the necessary resources and increased capabilities - not only in the field of peace-keeping, but particularly in the fields of peace-making and conflict prevention, as analysed in the Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace - is not quickly realized.

Cyprus can again be brought up as a case-study and example.

Following the invasion in 1974, the United Nations system was mobilized. The Security Council and the General Assembly adopted resolutions demanding respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and an

(President Vassiliou)

immediate end to foreign military intervention and called urgently for a cease-fire. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) supervised the cease-fire and assured the peace-keeping operation. It has fulfilled this role as well as other humanitarian functions admirably. And we are grateful to all the men who served in UNFICYP for their contribution. But 18 years later, the Cyprus problem is still not solved and as a consequence UNFICYP is confronted with serious financial problems.

(President Vassiliou)

If even a small number of the peace-keeping operations the United Nations is now undertaking have the duration of UNFICYP, given their scale and scope, very soon the Organization will not be able to cope with the financial and other burdens.

The Cyprus example is, I believe, sufficient evidence that an intense peace-making effort must be pursued in parallel with every peace-keeping operation. For the cost can be limited not by simply eliminating the role, but by opening the way for just and viable solutions.

In the case of Cyprus, despite the lack of results because of the negative attitude of the Turkish side during the long negotiations aimed at finding a solution, the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, correctly seized the moment and pursued an intense, renewed effort to this end. The Security Council, already actively involved in the process, put its weight behind those efforts and engaged itself in an unprecedented way.

We took our share of responsibility and engaged in those talks in the spirit of good will and conciliation. For we want to put an end to the forcible division of our country and the resulting suffering of so many, particularly of the families of the missing persons. In brief, we want to see an end to the status quo, characterized by the Security Council as not acceptable.

Unfortunately, the Turkish side remained intransigent on its aims of perpetuating the division of Cyprus into two "ethnically clean" regions, in utter violation of human rights and basic rules of international law. Even today we hear voices from Turkey speaking against federation, claiming that since two different communities live on Cyprus the island should be partitioned. Just imagine how the world would look if this principle were applied universally.

As the Secretary-General underlined in an interview a few days ago, the new danger that will appear in the world in the next 10 years is more fragmentation. Rather than 100 or 200 countries, said the Secretary-General, there may be at the end of the century 400 countries. By way of example he went on to say that in Africa there are 5,000 tribes, and if each tribe claimed the right to self-determination we would end up with many small States of 50,000 to 100,000 people each. We can all imagine the effects that this would have on the hopes of humanity for sustainable development. That is why what happens in Cyprus and the solution of the Cyprus problem based on United Nations resolutions must be of concern to the international community.

The report of the Secretary-General on Cyprus (S/24472) clearly shows why no progress was made in the July and August talks. Furthermore, the "Set of ideas" and the map which are annexed to the report have been endorsed by the Security Council in resolution 774 (1992) as the basis for reaching a solution. We should like, in this context, to express our appreciation and thanks to the Secretary-General and the Security Council for all their support and involvement in our case.

The resolution also calls for resumption of the talks on 26 October. As always, we intend to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and negotiate with good will. We sincerely hope that the Turkish side, despite its so-far negative public statements, will at long last cooperate.

If, despite the efforts of the Secretary-General, our good will and the involvement of the Security Council, the talks in October become a repetition of the unpleasant exercise we experienced this summer, we are confident that the Security Council and the Assembly will assure the conditions for progress.

For it would be tragic further to delay, or even frustrate, the effort for a solution in Cyprus. The people of Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots alike, want to put the past behind them and advance towards a better future. The reunification of Cyprus will open a new era of prosperity and progress to the benefit of all Cypriots - in particular, of Turkish Cypriots - and our region. I am certain that the solution of the Cyprus problem is the only way, and a necessary condition, for the economic and social development of all Cypriots. In this competitive world of ours, only if Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots are united and join forces will they be able to win the place they deserve in the world.

The Secretary-General's "Agenda for Peace" introduces peace-building and preventive diplomacy as concepts of the utmost importance. The conceptual framework of the "Agenda" is indeed remarkable in its ramifications and the linkages it establishes between peace and security, international law, democracy, human rights and sustainable development.

Cyprus, which accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, welcomes and supports the Secretary-General's proposals in the field of international law, as set out in the report.

Our long-term efforts should be aimed at creating such conditions as will make the possibility of war unthinkable, even between nations that have a history of enmity. In order to achieve such a result on a global basis the United Nations must adapt itself swiftly to the changing conditions. A better balance and coordination between the various bodies that form the Organization and the specialized agencies are needed. A more effective and more democratic

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United Nations is an essential component of a stable and democratic world order. Furthermore, as the Secretary-General pointedly underlines in his report to the General Assembly, we must render our Organization

> "capable of dealing comprehensively with the economic, social, environmental and political dimensions of human development." (A/47/1, para. 9)

The General Assembly, representing all the Members of the United Nations, has a major role to play in the realization of this major objective. And I am certain that under the able leadership of our President, my good friend the Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, Mr. Ganev, it will rise to these challenges. I also take this opportunity to pay tribute, Mr. President, to your predecessor, Mr. Samir Shihabi of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, for the skilful manner in which he steered the work of the forty-sixth session.

Prominent among the challenges we have to meet is the protection of human rights in all their dimensions, civil and political as well as social, economic and cultural. The progress achieved in this field during recent years, encouraging though it is, should not mislead us. Much progress still needs to be achieved. That is why we look forward to the World Conference on Human Rights, which will present us with a great opportunity not only to assess the progress achieved so far, but also, and mainly, to define the means for rendering our collective action for the protection of human rights more effective.

The issue of human rights is crucial, for it relates not only to peace-making and peace-building, but also to preventive diplomacy. The first victims of galloping nationalism and micronationalism everywhere, as we can clearly see, are the human rights of citizens. We in Cyprus, unfortunately, have bitter experience of this fact.

Tolerance and respect for the beliefs and particularities of others within societies and peaceful relations among nations are the conditions for the prevalence of the rule of law and thus of human rights. And as peace is no longer the end product of mutual fear, it will be maintained only through the prevalence of mutual understanding, communication and confidence. In this respect, the process of disarmament has a key function to play.

In spite of the progress we all welcome, and in particular the agreement reached within the Conference on Disarmament on a draft convention for the elimination of chemical weapons, disarmament is still of the utmost priority in our quest for general stability. The positive developments in the field of nuclear weapons constitute an asset that has to be safeguarded. However, the risk of intense arms races between regional Powers is more than a threat: it is a reality.

It is only through eliminating the roots of insecurity, which makes the acquisition of arms a vital need for States, and through creating the institutional framework that will enhance the feeling of security and thereby diminish to the maximum the need for self-help in case of aggression, that real progress can be achieved.

We know how painful it is to spend precious resources on arms and we hurt when we have to pay a few million dollars just to buy a new tank. But what other choice are we left with when on a small island like Cyprus the Turkish army outnumbers us in this field by a ratio of 7 to 1, constantly threatening our physical existence? Time and again we have proposed the demilitarization of Cyprus, together with the withdrawal of the Turkish forces from Cyprus. We are committed to using the resources thus saved for development purposes - most of them directed to projects that will have an immediate effect on the standard of living of the Turkish Cypriots. Thus, the peace-building process will be further strengthened and the people of Cyprus as a whole will benefit.

Human rights and democracy will amount to little if social misery, starvation and underdevelopment are the lot of the great majority of the population of this planet. The fragile flower of democracy cannot bloom on the arid soil of poverty. What sense can the right to vote have if one is condemned to remain hungry, roofless and without the very basic necessities?

As the Jakarta Declaration, adopted during the tenth non-aligned summit only some weeks ago, clearly states:

> "A shift of forces in international relations towards strengthening multilateral cooperation for development has become indispensable."

The division between rich and poor, developed and developing, should not be allowed to become a new source of instability and tension that would undermine the foundations of international society. It is an illusion to think that any country, however rich or great, can survive isolated, surrounded by an archipelago of poverty.

If we want peace and social stability we must address the issues of growth and sustainable development in their human and social dimensions.

Indebtedness, mainly due to the collapse of commodity prices and the subsequent transfer of resources from poor to rich countries, continues to hurt the developing world. Barriers to trade raise formidable obstacles to the efforts of developing countries to reach the markets of the highly

(President Vassiliou)

industrialized North and limit their possibilities for growth while having an adverse effect on the export prices of their products. That is why we are anxious about the delay in concluding the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and express the hope that the target for completing the negotiations - that is, the end of 1992 - will be achieved this time. Developing nations' access to technology is still very restricted and this adds to the already existing inequalities that hamper growth on a global level.

Technology is not an end in itself. The transfer of technologies from developed to developing countries is a pre-condition for sustainable development on a global scale. The problem is also directly linked to that of the flow of financial resources for productive investment in developing countries. What is at stake here is not only the solidarity that developed countries should demonstrate. It is also a rational response that will guarantee their own ability to continue to progress in a world which progresses as a whole.

It is now widely acknowledged that in our quest for development in the past we regarded environment solely as a commodity ripe for exploitation. Now we have come to realize that it is man who belongs to the environment and not the environment to man. It is therefore necessary to define a new synthesis between environment and development. The Rio Conference was a major step in that direction. The world summit gave the correct message; it shaped the international will and marked a new beginning. Concrete and effective measures must follow. The Rio Declaration must not remain a dead letter. We have to translate into action its provisions, which should guide us in every policy decision.

The 1990s is a decade of dramatic changes. The contradictory forces and undercurrents that shape the outcome of events must be shaped and guided towards the creation of a peaceful and democratic world order. The United Nations is the soul itself, the consciousness of humanity as a collective entity. As such, it demonstrates a flexibility and a capacity for adaptation which are admirable. People of worth, dedicated men and women, work in every part of the world fulfilling impossible missions. We thank them all.

We have reached a moment when, as Member States, we must assume further responsibilities and, faithful to the principles of the Charter of this Organization, work in unison in helping the United Nations to achieve its objectives. Humanity has conquered mighty and formidable peaks. We cannot turn back. We are committed to shaping and channelling the hopes and aspirations of mankind for a more free, democratic and tolerant world, with a better quality of life for all.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Cyprus for the statement he has just made.

Mr. George Vassiliou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. KANJU (Pakistan): This session of the General Assembly is taking place at the dawn of a new era. The international structure constructed since the Second World War on the balance of terror between the super-Powers has broken down. We perceive new opportunities to promote peace and to accelerate progress throughout the world. Yet we face new and unprecedented problems, both regional and global.

The international community must squarely face the challenges and seize the opportunities that the momentous developments of the past few years have presented. We must build a peaceful, stable and progressive international order on the debris of the cold war, an international order where principles of equity and fair play govern the conduct of States, where the weak live without fear of domination by the strong, where prosperity flourishes and where human dignity is safeguarded.

Such a new international order can come about only through concrete steps agreed by the vast majority of the international community. The United Nations is the only forum where we can concert our actions to construct new arrangements for global peace and prosperity. The Assembly should take the initiative by adopting an appropriate action plan in this emerging era of international relations. I should like to take this opportunity to outline Pakistan's views and suggestions on the elements of such an action plan.

To build a new and effective framework for peace and progress, the world community must achieve five major objectives.

The first objective is the promotion of a structure of global security that ensures the security of both large and small States, of both weak and powerful nations. Historically, threats to international peace and stability have emanated from the drive for power and hegemony sustained by the accumulation of massive military arsenals. An international order based on hegemony will always remain unstable, because it is unjust. The challenge before us is to build a new international structure that would check the hegemonic ambitions of the powerful nations and promote disarmament at global and regional levels. Only through such measures can we create a just and stable order ensuring global and regional peace and security. Such a structure presupposes the revitalization of the United Nations on democratic lines to regulate inter-State conduct in conformity with recognized principles of inter-State behaviour, particularly the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination, respect for the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force in international relations and peaceful resolution of international disputes.

A comprehensive programme of disarmament at global and regional levels constitutes the second pillar of a stable structure of international security. Significant reductions in weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, leading ultimately to their total elimination, and in conventional arsenals are essential elements of the disarmament process. Pending the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction, their proliferation must be arrested. We have welcomed the agreements between the United States and the Russian Federation which will reduce their strategic nuclear arsenals by half. In the present conditions of instability, further reduction of these nuclear warheads is a pressing priority. Pakistan hopes that their number will be drastically cut, leading to their eventual elimination all over the globe. This is no longer a Utopian goal.

(Mr. Kanju, Pakistan)

Until complete nuclear disarmament has been achieved, the nuclear-weapon Powers are under the obligation to assure the non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons. With the end of the cold war, there is no reason why such assurances cannot be extended to the non-nuclear-weapon States unconditionally and in a legally binding manner.

An essential element in the programme for nuclear disarmament is the acceptance by all States of a permanent ban on nuclear-weapon testing. The absence of a comprehensive nuclear-test ban will, in the long run, compromise the goal of nuclear non-proliferation. We further believe that the conclusion of nuclear-test-ban agreements among regional States in different parts of the world not only would facilitate the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty but would also act as an important confidence-building measure at regional levels.

Disarmament and non-proliferation are two sides of the same coin. Pakistan fully agrees that the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction would increase the danger to world peace and security. Non-proliferation measures can gain universal credibility and acceptance if their scope and application are comprehensive and non-discriminatory. This pre-condition applies as much to nuclear non-proliferation as it does to the endeavour to control the spread of medium- and long-range missiles.

With the end of the cold war and tangible progress in arms reductions between the two pre-eminent nuclear Powers, the urgency of promoting regional disarmament is greater than ever before. Today threats to peace arise largely from regional discords and divisions. The armaments race is increasingly acquiring a regional dimension. Global peace and security will remain in

(Mr. Kanju, Pakistan)

jeopardy unless greater attention is paid to regional security concerns. In recognition of this reality, the United Nations has begun to focus on the need to promote disarmament at the regional level. This is evidenced by the adoption at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the resolution on regional disarmament by an overwhelming majority. This approach also featured prominently in the deliberations of the Disarmament Commission at its last session. This trend needs to be encouraged and strengthened.

Pakistan fully subscribes to the objectives of the draft Convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, which has been transmitted to the General Assembly by the Conference on Disarmament. We completely share the resolve of the international community to banish forever this hideous instrument of warfare. However, the draft Convention contains some provisions that cause us concern. It remains our hope that these shortcomings will be redressed to ensure universal adherence to this truly landmark document.

The second objective of an action plan for peace and progress should be to promote the fullest application of the principle of self-determination.

The principle of self-determination is the bedrock of the present system of international relations between sovereign, independent States. Over the past 45 years, the exercise of this right has led to the independence of the majority of the States represented in this Hall. All peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation are entitled to self-determination. This has been repeatedly recognized by the United Nations.

The process of self-determination remains incomplete. In its resolutions of 1948 and 1949 the Security Council decided that the future of Jammu and Kashmir should be determined in accordance with the wishes of its people, to be expressed in a free and fair plebiscite under United Nations auspices. Pakistan and India both undertook to implement those resolutions. That was the first time that the Council set out the actual process by which the right of self-determination was to be exercised. It is ironic and sad that the first resolutions of the Security Council providing for the exercise of the right of self-determination remain unimplemented.

The passage of a generation has not extinguished the desire for self-determination in Kashmir. It is the children of 1947 who are now sacrificing their lives in the struggle for Kashmir's freedom from Indian rule. Since 1990 more than 10,000 Kashmiri men, women and children have been killed. According to Amnesty International, an estimated 15,000 citizens are in prisons and torture cells in Kashmir. The brutal repression unleashed by a security force of over 400,000 has failed to break the spirit of the Kashmiri people. Pakistan cannot remain indifferent to their sufferings. We will continue to extend full moral, diplomatic and political support to the struggle of the Kashmiri people for self-determination.

Peace and tranquillity cannot return to South Asia unless this outstanding dispute is resolved. Pakistan has proposed to India the commencement of a bilateral dialogue in accordance with the Simla Agreement to reach a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the United Nations resolutions. We hope this dialogue can start without further delay.

We call upon the international community to persuade India to desist from its policy of suppression and to enter into a serious dialogue with us with a view to resolving this dispute in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council and in the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

May I also urge the Secretary-General to use his high office to persuade India to desist from the path of violence and suppression against the Kashmiri people and to allow them the exercise of their right to self-determination as envisaged in the Security Council resolutions. Attempts by India to portray the 45-year-old just struggle of the Kashmiri people in terms of external interference are aimed at distorting the historical facts and should therefore be rejected outright.

I reiterate before the Assembly Pakistan's long-standing proposal to station impartial observers along the line of control to investigate and verify accusations of interference. We made this proposal in all sincerity and are convinced that such a mechanism would help establish the correct position beyond any shadow of doubt. That position is that the uprising in Indian-held Kashmir is entirely indigenous and spontaneous. Indeed, India's persistent rejection of our proposal exposes the hollowness of its allegations.

The people of Palestine too have been denied their right to self-determination. Pakistan shares the hope that the current Middle East peace process will lead to a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle

East based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Pakistan also shares the view that the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including Al-Quds Al-Sharif, and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Palestinian people are essential to ensure a durable peace in the Middle East.

In South Africa, some progress has been made towards eliminating apartheid. However, the recent violence threatens to disrupt the negotiating process. The South African Government must shoulder its responsibility for salvaging the negotiations by taking immediate steps to stop the bloodshed and bring to book those responsible for the recent massacres. Meanwhile, international pressure against South Africa should be maintained until the positive changes introduced in the last two years become irreversible and the South African people's struggle for justice, equality and majority rule is finally crowned with success.

Pakistan fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in implementing the peace settlement in Cambodia. We call upon all Cambodian factions to cooperate with the United Nations in creating conditions conducive to the establishment of a national Government in Cambodia. Pakistan's commitment to the Cambodian peace settlement is evidenced by its substantial contribution to the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia, to which we have provided a full infantry battalion.

The valiant people of Afghanistan have finally regained control over their destiny. On 28 April 1992 an interim Afghan Government assumed power in Kabul. Pakistan congratulates the people of Afghanistan on their triumph and pledges to them its complete support and cooperation in the arduous task of nation-building and reconstruction. We are determined to develop close and cooperative relations with Afghanistan on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual respect. It is our sincere hope that the process of reconciliation in Afghanistan will be accelerated and that the people of that country will be able to live in peace and harmony. We urge the international community to make its due contribution to the reconstruction of Afghanistan and the rehabilitation of the returning refugees, as well as to the maintenance of the remaining millions of refugees in Pakistan and Iran. For its part, Pakistan is ready to make its contribution to the gigantic task of rebuilding the war-ravaged Afghan economy.

Pakistan welcomes the new Members of the United Nations: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Their presence in this Hall is a source of strength for the United Nations.

Unfortunately, one of these new Member States is being subjected to brutal aggression. This world body must strongly oppose this aggression. We call on the Security Council to take action, including the use of force under Article 42 of the Charter, to reverse the Serbian aggression and restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia deserves assistance in accordance with the Charter's provisions on self-defence. The Security Council should lift sanctions to enable Bosnia to receive such assistance. We further urge that an international tribunal be established immediately to prosecute and punish the reported war crimes by Serbian forces, including the genocidal practice of "ethnic cleansing". The world community must also make more determined efforts to ensure that humanitarian assistance reaches the suffering people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Kanju, Pakistan)

Pakistan holds the view that the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has ceased to exist. Serbia and Montenegro, therefore, should not be allowed to take the seat of the former Yugoslavia in the United Nations.

The third objective we must promote in an action plan is the establishment of viable structures for regional peace and security as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter. With the end of the cold war, threats to peace and security are most likely to be regional rather than global in origin and dimension. It is, therefore, in the regional context that the barricades against war must be constructed.

Pakistan desires good-neighbourly relations with India. We want to devote our energies to the vital task of economic and social development. We want our people to live in dignity. These goals cannot be attained unless a climate of trust and cooperation prevails in South Asia.

In South Asia, as elsewhere, a balance in the military capabilities of the regional States is essential to build and maintain a viable structure of peace and security. Pakistan has made proposals to India for a regional or bilateral agreement to ensure nuclear non-proliferation, the total prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, and mutual and balanced reduction of the conventional forces of the two countries.

Pakistan and India have concluded agreements not to attack each other's nuclear facilities and on prior notification of military exercises and prevention of air violations. Recently, we also signed a declaration on the total prohibition of chemical weapons.

Regrettably, India remains unresponsive to the proposals aimed at ensuring nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia and bringing about a mutual and balanced reduction of conventional forces. It continues to vote against the proposal for establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, which has been repeatedly endorsed by the Assembly. India has yet to accept the proposal for talks involving the United States, the Russian Federation and China, as well as India and Pakistan, to ensure nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia. All the other proposed participants have responded positively to the proposal.

Pakistan stands at the crossroads of South Asia, Central Asia, China, West Asia and the Gulf. In the past, this region was the subject of the great game between rival imperialist Powers. With the end of the cold war and the emergence of the independent republics of Central Asia, Pakistan hopes to serve as a link between interlocking structures for economic and commercial cooperation in these adjacent regions of Asia. The admission of the Central Asian States in the Economic Cooperation Organization, grouping Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, will help towards the emergence of the region as a vibrant economic entity. Pakistan enjoys close fraternal relations with the member States of the Gulf Cooperation Council and we hope to promote cooperation and moderation in the Gulf region. Similarly, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation can make a positive contribution to the evolution of a new era in the relations among the regional States.

Threats to the security of the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean arise mainly due to large disparities in their military capabilities. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has proposed a conference of the littoral and hinterland States to agree upon measures for strengthening regional peace and security. The maintenance of an equitable balance in the land, air and naval forces of the regional States is an essential prerequisite for achieving this objective. The Assembly should suggest appropriate guidelines to the United Nations Committee on the Indian Ocean to evolve a new framework for peace and security in that strategic region.

A fourth and essential objective of the Action Plan for Peace and Progress must be to revive global economic growth and restructure international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization:

> "Political progress and economic development are inseparable: both are equally important and must be pursued simultaneously".

(A/47/1, para. 64)

Growth in the world economy has been imbalanced. The gap between the developed and the developing countries has increased. The incidence of absolute poverty is growing. Recurrent economic recessions have reinforced trade protectionism and frozen the level of development assistance. This, combined with the crushing burden of the external debt-servicing of the developing countries, has led to the invidious phenomenon of negative resource flows.

We cannot allow growing economic disparities in an increasingly interdependent world in which destinies of nations are linked. Further deprivation in the third world can endanger international peace and stability. On the other hand, the integration of the developing countries in the world's financial and trading system can contribute immensely to global output, as we have witnessed in East Asia. Indeed, there is a unique opportunity today to create a truly global economy, since the developing countries, as well as the Central and Eastern European States, have adopted the principles of free markets and open trade.

Pakistan recommends the following steps to revive world economic growth and improve the plight of the developing countries. First, the major industrialized countries should take the policy actions required in the fiscal and monetary fields to revive global growth and break out of the current recession. Second, they must overcome the special interests that are pressing for protectionism, and conclude the Uruguay Round without further delay. Third, the debt burden of the developing countries should be effectively ameliorated. Countries that have scrupulously serviced their debts, imposing a great sacrifice on their peoples, could be offered relief through generous balance-of-payments support. Fourth, the developing countries should be provided preferential access in the regional trade areas in Europe and North America. Fifth, financial resources must be generated to meet the development needs of the poorest countries. Sixth, the developed countries should support mechanisms designed to stabilize commodity prices, including agricultural commodities. Seventh, an extensive programme of technical assistance and training should be undertaken in the developing countries to enhance their capacity to implement economic and social development projects. Eighth, additional resources and technology should be made available to integrate environmental and socio-economic objectives for sustainable development in accordance with the commitments of the Rio Conference.

(Mr. Kanju, Pakistan)

As the current Chairman of the Group of 77, Pakistan will work to evolve common positions for the developing countries on all the major economic issues, including the follow-up of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and the reform and revitalization of the Organization in economic and social fields. We also look forward to constructive cooperation with our developed-country partners.

The present Government of Pakistan has introduced a free-market revolution in the country. We are seeking economic growth by releasing the dynamism of our private sector. These reforms are based on deregulation and privatization. We have offered generous incentives for investment, including foreign investment. We have encouraged export-led growth. The response to these reforms has been most heartening. Private investment has accelerated; our exports have continued to increase despite the global economic slowdown. The Pakistan economy has grown by over 6 per cent annually during the past few years despite the constraints of a drastic structural adjustment programme.

Unfortunately, heavy floods have dealt Pakistan a severe blow. Over 2,000 people have perished. The damage to our public infrastructure, private property, and agriculture is estimated in the billions of dollars. We have fully mobilized our governmental machinery to recover from the effects of this natural calamity. We greatly appreciate the international expressions of sympathy and support. We are grateful for the assistance offered to Pakistan by the world community for relief and rehabilitation in flood-affected areas. Pakistanis are a resilient people and are facing this natural calamity with courage.

The final and vital objective of our Action Plan should be to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations itself in the areas of international security, economic and social development and human rights. Pakistan welcomes the renewed confidence reposed in the United Nations security role by the major Powers. This is, indeed, as the Secretary-General has said, a second chance for the international community to build the system of collective security envisaged in the Charter. . The Security Council can act as a credible deterrent to aggression against smaller and weaker States. Where aggression does occur, the Council can be the agent for the rapid restoration of peace and the redress of injustice.

While the revival of the Security Council has already been celebrated, we must acknowledge that its determination in responding to aggression has not been uniform. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, for instance, Serbian aggression could have been checked more effectively. The Council's decisions will possess credibility only if they are perceived to be fair and non-discriminatory, in strict conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The actions of the Security Council will gain support if its procedures and processes are democratic and transparent. We should resist efforts to create new centres of privilege.

We broadly endorse the Secretary-General's recommendations in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" regarding the United Nations role in preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping. We particularly agree with him that conflict-prone situations should be identified at an early stage and that the United Nations should play an active role for their peaceful settlement. Pakistan strongly endorses greater resort by Member States to the procedures for mediation, conciliation and arbitration provided in Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.

Pakistan's participation in several United Nations peace-keeping operations reflects our unqualified support for United Nations peace-keeping activities. As a gesture of solidarity with our brothers in Somalia, Pakistan has provided the United Nations operation in Somalia with an infantry battalion along with vehicles and equipment. Pakistan is prepared to designate specific units of its armed forces for rapid deployment in the service of the United Nations.

We believe that the General Assembly must also be enabled to play a more effective role in the promotion both of international peace and security and of economic and social progress. Our agenda must be rationalized. The decisions of the General Assembly must also gain in credibility and responsibility. Member States should observe and implement all resolutions of the General Assembly, especially those which are adopted by consensus.

The Charter envisaged that the United Nations would play a central role in promoting economic and social progress and development. The world Organization now requires even greater support in order to be able to respond to the host of new global issues confronting mankind - population, environment, drugs and international migration. The response of the United Nations membership to these issues will shape the political, economic and social structures of the twenty-first century.

The United Nations will lose its second chance to realize its potential if it continues to be denied the financial resources required to discharge its growing responsibilities. At this Assembly, we should give serious consideration to ways and means of ensuring adequate financing for all the activities of the United Nations.

It is the hope of the Pakistan delegation that the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly will adopt an action plan for peace and prosperity.

We should endeavour to reach specific decisions to restructure international relations by the fiftieth anniversary session of the General Assembly. This would be an appropriate occasion to launch the world Organization on its journey towards the vision of peace, justice and progress reflected in the Charter of the United Nations.

At this critical session of our Assembly, we are very happy to have someone with your wide diplomatic experience and wisdom as its President. I am confident that you will make a vital contribution to the success of our deliberations on the major issues of our time. Your predecessor, Ambassador Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, has established a superb record of achievements, for which I would like to congratulate him warmly.

Our Organization is most fortunate to have a new Secretary-General who, with his distinguished academic and diplomatic experience, can comprehend the strong currents of history flowing in these times. He has already manifested his political courage in defence of justice, equity and peace. The Pakistan delegation reposes full confidence in the ability of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali to guide the membership of the United Nations towards the new era of peace and prosperity which we all wish to see emerge from the debris of the cold war.

Mr. WATANABE (Japan) (spoke in Japanese; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like, first of all, to extend my sincere congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your election to the presidency of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. At the same time, I wish to express to Mr. Samir Shihabi my appreciation for what was accomplished under his presidency. His visit to Japan in April 1992 further strengthened my country's close ties to the United Nations.

(Mr. Watanabe, Japan)

Last year, seven nations were admitted to membership in the United Nations, and this year, another thirteen became Members. On behalf of the Government and people of Japan, I extend my heartfelt congratulations to the representatives of the nations attending this General Assembly for the first time. Now numbering 179 Members, the United Nations is indeed a global Organization. At the same time, its role in maintaining world peace and security is increasing dramatically, thus presenting the international community with unparalleled opportunities for realizing the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

Member States have extremely high expectations of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who bears the awesome burdens of his office at a particularly crucial juncture. I take this opportunity to pledge Japan's full support for, and cooperation with, President Ganev and Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali as we pursue our common goals.

Now, nearly half a century after the United Nations was founded, the international community has been freed from the constraints of East-West confrontation based on ideology and force. Nevertheless, this post-cold-war world faces problems arising from the changing power relationship between the nations that dominated the old international order, the resurgence of regionalism, and the destabilization of regions by ethnic, religious and other strife.

The Gulf crisis showed the high political and economic costs of restoring peace once it has been destroyed. Every day, countless refugees in what used to be Yugoslavia are being forced to flee their homes. Every day brings numerous reports of atrocities there. In Somalia, the civil war, compounded by severe drought, is resulting in untold human suffering. Urgent efforts continue to be required to overcome poverty in many developing nations, home to the majority of the world's population. The preservation of the global environment for our children and grandchildren is another issue that demands our serious attention.

These challenges only underscore the need to seek solutions to problems in a spirit of conciliation and cooperation among nations. This conciliatory and cooperative spirit should be a key element in advancing us towards the creation of an international order for the new era while the United Nations assumes even greater importance as the centre of our endeavours. Thus the time has come to review the roles and functions of the United Nations and seriously to consider how they may be strengthened, and to reflect upon how each of its Members might best contribute to that end.

The Security Council summit meeting held in January 1992 provided an unprecedented opportunity to examine, at the level of Head of State or Government, the problems confronting the international community. In the light of the present world situation, the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", which was drafted on the basis of the deliberations at the summit, is indeed a timely contribution. I hold Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali's initiative, which was realized with the diligent assistance of the Secretariat, in the highest regard.

In Japan's view, building a peaceful world will require the following five-pronged approach.

First, efforts must be made to ease international tensions. The agreement reached at the summit meeting between the United States and Russia this past June to make substantial reductions in nuclear armaments is most welcome. It is hoped that this will lead to progress in nuclear disarmament by all nuclear-weapon States. The problem of proliferation demands that the regime of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons be strengthened and made more universal. The Treaty's signatories should harmonize their positions so that when they meet in 1995 the smooth extension of the Treaty will be ensured.

An important facet of non-proliferation is the provision of employment assistance to weapons scientists of the former Soviet Union. To this end, Japan is striving to make it possible for an international science and technology centre to begin operation promptly in cooperation with the United States and countries of the European Community.

The conclusion of negotiations on the chemical weapons convention at the Conference on Disarmament and the anticipated submission to the General Assembly at the current session of the draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons constitute an epochal step forward. Japan earnestly hopes that as many nations as possible will be original signatories to this convention.

Conventional weapons are another area in which the vigilance of concerned nations is called for to prevent regional destabilization, especially in the light of the major arms transfers that have already taken place in some regions. To increase the transparency of arms transfers and thereby strengthen trust among nations, it is important that the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms, the establishment of which Japan proposed jointly with the European Community and other countries last year, be implemented effectively. Japan and its partners in this effort plan to submit a draft resolution to the General Assembly at this session calling for the wide participation of Member States in the Register.

Secondly, stepped-up efforts are needed to forestall the outbreak of conflicts. Thus far, Japan has played an active role in the adoption of such General Assembly resolutions as the Declaration on conflict prevention (43/51) and the Declaration on United Nations fact-finding (46/59). To strengthen the conflict-prevention function of the United Nations, the Secretary-General must have the capacity, inter alia, to conduct fact-finding missions, to issue early warnings and to monitor constantly the situation in potential conflict zones. For this purpose, it is important that information about conflicts be made immediately available to the Secretary-General.

In addition, I propose that there be set up within the United Nations Secretariat a conflict-information clearing-house. This office would collate information on conflicts collected through the fact-finding activities of the Secretariat or provided by Governments, and would present it in an objective manner to the Security Council and to Member States so as to help them formulate their judgments on the situation.

I should also note here that Japan is in basic agreement with the concept of preventive diplomacy described in the Secretary-General's report, but the idea of preventive deployment of United Nations peace-keeping operations, for example, with the consent of only one party to a conflict involves problems which require further study.

Thirdly, stronger diplomatic efforts should be made by Members of the United Nations to resolve conflicts peacefully. Considering the recent spate of regional conflicts, efforts to resolve them by regional organizations and United Nations Member States are increasingly essential. The efforts led by the European Community to restore peace in the former Yugoslavia and the efforts by the countries in the Asian region and the five permanent members of the Security Council to restore peace in Cambodia are examples of the kind of action to which I refer. The steps now being taken by the countries concerned towards peace in the Middle East also deserve to be hailed. Japan, for its part, also intends to play an active role in the multilateral consultations.

I intend to see that Japan continues to step up its diplomatic efforts to build peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. As far as peace in Cambodia is concerned, Japan has been playing an active role by, for example, hosting the Ministerial Meeting on the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation of Cambodia in Tokyo this past June. In cooperation with other countries, Japan will continue its intensive and unremitting efforts to urge the Khmer Rouge to work with the other parties in Cambodia and with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) to advance the peace process quickly. Japan also intends to take an active part in the Security Council deliberations on this issue.

Easing tensions on the Korean peninsula is of vital importance for peace and stability in east Asia, and Japan intends to contribute in every way it can to the creation of an environment conducive to dialogue between South and North Korea. In this connection, Japan welcomes the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the Republic of Korea and hopes that this will lead to ever-broader exchanges between the two countries in the future.

I welcome the idea mentioned by President Roh Tae Woo of the Republic of Korea in his address earlier today of enhancing opportunities for dialogue among interested countries in north-east Asia, an idea that is consistent with Japan's own thinking. I consider it vitally important for Japan's relationship with its neighbour, the Russian Federation, to expand in all aspects on a balanced basis. In this connection, I believe that the building of a relationship of trust between Japan and Russia through the conclusion of a peace treaty will greatly contribute to peace and stability in the region.

Fourthly, peace-keeping operations, which are at the very centre of the primary role of the United Nations, should be strengthened. Extending to new areas of responsibility, and with an ever-greater range of activity, United Nations peace-keeping operations have evolved both qualitatively and quantitatively in recent years. As mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, however, they are confronted with many problems, including increased demands for funding and a shortage of logistical personnel. More active cooperation by Member States of the United Nations is therefore essential.

Last June, the Japanese Diet passed the International Peace Cooperation Law, which put in place domestic arrangements that finally enable Japan to participate in United Nations peace-keeping operations and international humanitarian relief operations. In addition to the financial contributions it has thus far extended, Japan intends to cooperate by sending personnel to the maximum degree allowed within the framework of this new law.

In fact, a decision has already been made to send election monitors to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) in Angola to oversee the elections there, and to send military observers, a construction unit and civilian police to the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). The first teams have already been dispatched. Japan also plans to send election monitors to Cambodia for the elections scheduled there next year.

Japan believes that the principles and practices of peace-keeping operations upheld by the United Nations for more than 40 years are still both appropriate and valid today and will continue to be so in the future. The idea of "peace-enforcement units", proposed in the Secretary-General's report, offers an interesting approach to future peace-making efforts of the United

Nations, but requires further study because it is rooted in a mode of thinking completely different from past peace-keeping forces.

Fifthly, in order to build peace throughout the world, dialogue and cooperation should be strengthened and developed as appropriate to the situation in each region. Europe's regional cooperation mechanisms, typified by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), have grown out of efforts for confidence-building against a backdrop of past conflicts. They have evolved into frameworks for working together to achieve regional stability and prosperity, and have begun to work to prevent conflicts and augment their peace-keeping capability in specific ways.

Regional cooperation for peace and prosperity in other parts of the world has not yet matured to the same degree as in Europe. Ways should be explored to achieve forms of dialogue and cooperation that are well grounded in the political and geopolitical characteristics of each region and tailored to its needs.

With respect to security in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan considers it important to maintain and strengthen the frameworks for dealing with issues either bilaterally or among several countries concerned, and, simultaneously, to seek to promote region-wide dialogue. I believe that, at the present time, one of the forums that has the greatest potential for such region-wide dialogue is the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Post-Ministerial Conference. Japan suggested last year that this forum be used for political dialogue of the type to which I am referring. In an effort to promote greater cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region which at the same time is open to the outside world, Japan has been contributing actively to the development of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

I should now like to turn to the question of responding to new threats. The threats facing humankind today are not all military. Problems relating to the deterioration of the global environment, refugees, poverty, overpopulation, drugs, AIDS and other threats of a non-military nature are becoming increasingly serious. It is not enough simply to treat the symptoms; the United Nations and the international community must join hands to remove the causes of these ills. It is no exaggeration to say that the solution to these problems will demand the utmost of humanity's collective knowledge and the application of its highest ethical and moral standards.

In this connection, I wish to re-emphasize the importance of respect for human rights. Fundamental human rights are not only a universally cherished value, but are also fundamental to ensuring a better life for each individual and the development of a democratic society. The lack of respect for humanitarian law and for the rights of minorities in recent conflict areas is deeply disturbing.

With the end of the cold war, it is incumbent upon the international community to grapple more seriously with the problem of poverty in the developing world, since the maintenance of world order hinges largely upon whether and to what degree the North and South cooperate. The United Nations must redouble its efforts to combat poverty and to eliminate the causes of social instability - which is rooted in poverty - in the recognition that economic development raises standards of living and thereby enhances political stability.

In addressing the issue of poverty, we must bear in mind that conditions differ from country to country. The economies of some countries are about to take off, others are on the verge of solving their spiralling debt problems,

(Mr. Watanabe, Japan)

and others - such as the sub-Saharan countries - are still experiencing crushing economic difficulties. We must therefore search for an approach that is finely tuned to these differing circumstances.

Japan intends to assist United Nations efforts to deal more effectively with these problems that affect all of humanity. For example, cognizant of its role as a responsible member of the international community, Japan plans to host an African development conference in autumn next year in Tokyo with the cooperation and participation of sub-Saharan nations, major aid donors, the United Nations and other international agencies to discuss the theme of economic development in Africa. Another timely event that addresses these problems is the United Nations social development summit, scheduled for 1995. Japan intends to cooperate actively in both these meetings to ensure that they will be genuinely fruitful.

(Mr. Watanabe, Japan)

I turn now to the subject of the environment and development. It is very important that the follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held recently in Rio de Janeiro, be maintained. Japan intends to make active contributions to the work of the sustainable development committee, the establishment of which is on the agenda of this General Assembly session, and of such international environmental agencies as the United Nations Environment Programme and the United Nations Development Programme. The process of making the necessary domestic arrangements is now under way. Japan will soon finalize the draft of its national action programme, and is prepared to assist developing countries in the formulation of theirs. In accordance with its stated goal that its environment-related official development assistance be increased to between 900 billion and 1 trillion yen over the next five years, Japan will strive to identify, formulate and implement the best projects through policy dialogue with developing countries. At this stage I wish to confirm Japan's proposal that a special session of the General Assembly devoted to environmental issues, as a follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, be held before 1997.

Whereas refugees are returning to their homes in Cambodia and other parts of the world, the refugee problem in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia remains extremely serious. The international community must unite to address such complex problems as shelter, emergency aid, and assistance in reintegrating refugees following their voluntary return home. Japan will continue to be active in extending humanitarian aid through the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other international agencies.

(Mr. Watanabe, Japan)

Population is another problem facing all humankind - a problem that demands the cooperation of both developed and developing countries. Japan wishes, in preparation for the 1994 world population and development conference, and with the cooperation of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the United Nations University, to hold in 1994 a meeting of eminent world authorities on demographic issues, and in this regard we sincerely ask for the cooperation of Member States.

I wish to refer now to steps towards revitalization of the United Nations. The United Nations is currently faced with a number of structural problems. These relate to its organization - which has not adapted fully to the changing times - to the serious budget crisis, and to the insufficiency of communication between United Nations agencies.

First, the most serious requirement of the United Nations as a global Organization today is legitimacy, trustworthiness and efficacy. If the United Nations is to realize the ideals and purposes of the Charter - based on legitimacy, trustworthiness and efficacy - including the maintenance of international peace and security, it must have the complete confidence of its Members. In this respect, the United Nations must reshape itself in response to the epochal changes that we have recently witnessed - changes that could not have been foreseen when the Organization was founded. These include the rapid transformations in the international situation, the dramatic increase in United Nations membership and shifts in global power relations.

However, the United Nations Charter itself still contains historical relics, such as the former-enemies clauses. And the way in which the Organization is structured makes one question whether it can effectively meet expectations. With the aim, in part, of enhancing trust in, and the efficacy of, the Security Council, which has a particularly important role in the maintenance of international peace and security, Japan believes that it is necessary to consider seriously just how the United Nations as a whole should be structured. This effort should include consideration of the functions, composition and other aspects of the Security Council. In my view, it is necessary for the United Nations itself to begin to deal with this issue with a view to strengthening its functions. The year 1995, which will be the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, may prove to be an important juncture in the process of addressing this issue. The re-examination of the structure of the United Nations should also be accompanied by reform of the Economic and Social Council, which plays a role as important as that of the Security Council. The discussions on the Economic and Social Council that are currently being held in this direction are a welcome development.

The second crisis facing the United Nations is that of the budget deficit. The United Nations is on the verge of bankruptcy. If it is to emerge from its chronic shortage of funds, Member States must honour their obligations and immediately pay their assessed contributions. It is imperative that those Member States that are in arrears pay what they owe. The rapidly increasing demand for funds to finance peace-keeping operations must, in the light of the importance of these operations, be met. In particular, the availability of funding at the start-up stage of an operation is of crucial importance and could determine the outcome of the operation as a whole. Japan therefore plans to put before the General Assembly at the current session a draft resolution to ensure that the financial requirements of major peace-keeping operations at the start-up stage will be met without imposing new financial burdens on Member States. I sincerely hope that this draft resolution will receive wide support from Member States.

(Mr. Watanabe, Japan)

The third problem concerns insufficient communication among United Nations agencies. Better communication among the component agencies of the United Nations is necessary to ensure that the limited resources of the United Nations are used effectively and that the Organization's full potential is realized. Specifically, it is important to improve liaison between the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council, and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly. The establishment, for example, of a mechanism for periodic exchanges of view and close contact between and among the Presidents of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly - either two or three at a time - should be considered. Furthermore, it is important for the Economic and Social Council to have access to, and to provide the Security Council with, information as provided in Article 65 of the Charter. Finally, whenever a major peace-keeping operation is undertaken that will entail a major financial commitment, it is essential that there be established a mechanism for consultations among the permanent members of the Security Council, the major sources of financial support, the countries providing large contingents of operations personnel and the countries of the regions concerned.

The United Nations is entering an era of greater potential than it has ever experienced in its history of nearly half a century. This is also a time, however, that will test whether the United Nations can evolve into a global organization with the capability to achieve peace and prosperity for all humankind. The very magnitude of the challenges and tasks that lie ahead demand that now, more than ever before, each Member State be keenly aware of its responsbilities and carry its share of the burden.

Attaching central importance to the United Nations, and committed to its own ideals as a peace-loving State, Japan is determined to contribute to the international community in a manner that is commensurate with its position and responsibilities - in terms not only of financial resources but also of personnel - and by enhancing its political role in the effort to build a new order of peace. And as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, Japan is striving to bring about a more peaceful world.

I should like to conclude with the pledge that I shall do my utmost to see that Japan, in a spirit of conciliation and cooperation, continues to enhance its active contributions to the international community.

Mr. SKUBISZEWSKI (Poland): Please accept my congratulations, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in carrying out this responsible task. Let me also add how glad we are to have a President personifying the democratic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe.

To the outgoing President, Ambassador Samir S. Shihabi of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, I convey our appreciation for the quality of his leadership and work.

I also want to assure the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, of our unfailing support for his tireless efforts to make the United Nations live up to the expectations of our time and to the law of the Charter.

It is with profound satisfaction that we welcome in our midst the new Members of the United Nations: San Marino, Moldova, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan and Georgia, as well as Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

The end of the cold war has opened up the possibility of building a world order free from nuclear terror based on mutual respect among nations, on greater equality of opportunity, and on effective cooperative structures. It has raised hopes for a safer, more equitable and more humane world. Yet we are still far from turning those hopes into reality.

Consequently, the international community is led to re-examine and adjust the structures and functions of the United Nations. Member States are thinking more and more in terms of stimulating efforts to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the Organization. In the words of the Secretary-General, they should seek the "transfiguration of the house". Our fiftieth anniversary will offer an appropriate occasion to reassess the structure of the Organization with a view to tapping the full potential of the Charter. Before we talk about its revision, we first need to re-read the Charter in an attempt to implement it consistently and to adapt its application to the post-cold-war realities and to the political and socio-economic challenges originating form the South-North relationship.*

Important suggestions have been made by the Secretary-General in his imaginative report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277). We welcome this document and the proposals contained therein.

International security is a multidimensional issue. While the military factor continues to play its key role, security and stability are becoming increasingly dependent on other factors as well.

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* Mr. Phoofolo (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

We are facing pressing tasks in the economic area: the economies of the developing countries and the economies of the newly democratic countries, which emerged with the fall of communism, must become more efficient. There are enormous challenges with regard to the protection of the environment, with regard to the refugee question, and with regard to natural and man-made disasters. The issue of refugees represents an external manifestation of problems which cannot be addressed effectively without first attending to their underlying causes. The dramatic plight of famine- stricken Somalia is a manifest example. It calls not only for urgent international relief but also for long-standing assistance.

The advance made in arms control and in disarmament has a direct and positive impact on the international security climate. Over the last 12 months, negotiations in this vital area resulted, amongst other things, in the Open Skies Treaty, the agreements between the United States and the four successor States of the former USSR (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan) relating to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. The Conference on Disarmament in Geneva must be commended for having finally reached an agreement to ban these abhorrent weapons. The States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) have committed themselves to become original signatories to that important instrument. We urge all Member States to do likewise.

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

However, arms control and disarmament are unfinished tasks. The United Nations has to deal with the overkill capacity still present in arsenals, both nuclear and conventional, and with the growing danger of the spread of weapons of mass destruction and missile technology. There is an immediate need to control international arms transfers. Openness and transparency in the military field have to be promoted. Military stability and confidence will be elusive unless we make headway in all these areas. But even that is not enough. International peace and security will at best remain fragile as long as prevailing patterns and practices are not redressed to eliminate the non-military causes of instability, including ethnic hatred and nationalism.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, stands out at present as the single greatest breach of international peace. It is a threat to the security of the region. Non-compliance with the law of armed conflict; the atrocities; persecution of various population groups, including forced resettlement and "ethnic cleansing" programmes; gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms; obstacles put in the way of humanitarian aid, including obstacles to the activity of the International Committee of the Red Cross - all these acts underlie a regional conflict of unprecedented proportions which is brimming with spill-over risks and incalculable consequences.

The recent report of Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, contains stark evidence of breaches of international humanitarian law and human rights. The report leaves no party to the conflict blameless, while recognizing that the degrees of responsibility are far from being equal or even comparable.

In view of the reports on civilian and prisoner-of-war detention camps, the Polish Government deems it necessary to reiterate its demand of 7 August this year that all such camps be closed down forthwith and all the detainees be released without delay. Moreover, criminal prosecution of all persons responsible for breaches of the law of armed conflict must be ensured.

Poland has contributed one of the largest contingents to the United Nations Transition Authority in Cambodia and to the United Nations Protection Force in former Yugoslavia. At the same time, Poland recognizes the urgent need of reassessment of the tasks and structure of United Nations peace-keeping forces, including - as proposed by the Secretary-General - the establishment of a standing force at the disposal of the Organization. Another subject which deserves examination is the financing of the peace-keeping operations out of the defence budgets of States. The earmarking of merely half a per cent of their annual military expenditures for peace-keeping operations would help to overcome the present budgetary constraints. In this way, the maintenance of peace and security would become a truly common responsibility of the international community.

Poland stands ready to contribute to the development of international centres for preparing peace-keeping forces. To this end we propose to make available to the United Nations one of the military bases in Poland vacated by the Russian armed forces.

Let me also stress at this juncture that the Government of Poland has indicated its willingness to assign to peace-keeping operations, as of 1993, two or three self-contained infantry battalions, in addition to logistics detachments. This contingent could eventually be made available to the Security Council on a permanent basis. We thus fully agree with words that the President of the United States of America uses in his address to us yesterday - namely, that a new emphasis should be put on peace-keeping. That idea has also been entertained by other speakers. Furthermore, in response to a recent suggestion by the Secretary-General, Poland stands ready to participate in consultations aimed at the implementation of Article 43 of the Charter.

I shall now address the issue of regionalism. Some points have already been raised during today's debate. I am referring in particular to the statements by the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

Member States should make more use of the opportunities inherent in Chapter VIII of the Charter. Regional and continental security structures should become, in our view, part of a global security architecture.

The aggression against Kuwait and the hostilities in former Yugoslavia, in Moldova and in Nagorno-Karabakh have laid bare the strength of nationalism and the weakness of some regional structures. Indeed, left to fester, political, ethnic, religious and other conflicts have spread insecurity and instability across Europe and far beyond. While the United Nations is, as proved by the Persian Gulf experience, capable of playing its role in regard to the restoration and then preservation of peace and security, we still need to seek new security arrangements in keeping with the Charter. In Europe, this need has already been recognized by the North Atlantic Alliance, which is the pillar of security in our continent, the Western European Union and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Poland supports their involvement and active cooperation with other institutions in peace-keeping, conflict prevention and crisis management.

Harmonious and constructive interaction between the United Nations and regional organizations or arrangements may well constitute an important new element in making the United Nations more effective in the field of peace and security. This fact is rightly emphasized by the Secretary-General in his report.

In crisis situations, where several organizations are acting simultaneously, it could be advisable to set up, on an ad-hoc basis, a single coordinating framework. This would help to avoid duplication, overlapping or dissipation of efforts.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be commended for its offer of such cooperation. It declared itself a regional arrangement in the sense of Chapter VIII of the Charter. This implies the establishment of an important link between European and global security.

In our concern for peace and security we must consider the non-military factors. Let me turn first to human rights, an area where the Polish nation has accumulated considerable experience of internal struggle for the respect of the individual. Our debate on this issue is taking place at a time of both rising expectations and mounting fears about future developments. The international community is frustrated by its far-too-frequent helplessness in cases of grave and massive violations of human rights. Former Yugoslavia is a recent case in point.

The United Nations should urgently consider additional measures to address serious violations of human rights - among other things, a system of enforcement of respect for human rights. In this connection, the Austrian proposal concerning the establishment of a human rights emergency mechanism, submitted to the Commission on Human Rights, deserves proper attention.

The forthcoming World Conference on Human Rights is an appropriate forum to discuss these questions. The Conference should adopt a comprehensive approach to human rights. It should elaborate an action-oriented programme for the promotion and implementation of human rights as well as for the prevention of their violation. It should contribute to improving the coordination of United Nations activities in that respect. The framework for the preparations for the Conference is provided by General Assembly resolution 45/155.

While noting the variety of factors which influence the status of human rights, the resolution places emphasis on their universality. There is no justification for any differentiation in understanding the contents and the meaning of human rights, nor is there any room for their selective application. We must do all in our power to prevent the weakening of the universal substance of human rights.

My country pays particular attention to the protection of minorities. This attitude has found its expression in the treaties concluded by Poland with its neighbours. We fully endorse the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

While the ideologically motivated East-West division no longer exists - and we rejoice at that - we now see a growing North-South division, with the countries in transition, such as Poland, stranded in between. As a result, the promise of peace, greater security and freedom for all is being slowly eroded.

(Mr. Skubiszewski, Poland)

Global inequality, exemplified by the widening gap between the rich North and the poor South as well as the disparity in access to markets, must be alleviated not only for economic, but also for security, humanitarian and ethical reasons. Ecologically sustainable development, with democracy and the market economy at its core, should be the focal point and the principal goal of the United Nations system as it prepares itself for the future: the year 2000 and beyond. We shall not be able to cope successfully with the challenges ahead unless a coalition for development is forged.

As it happens, there are also grounds to fear a division based on the level of economic development in Europe. In the case of countries in transition, their long-awaited prosperity is lagging behind, not coming hand-in-hand with freedom. The Western industrial democracies have not yet adopted a coherent approach to the emerging problems of countries in Central and Eastern Europe. A grand strategy for supporting the democratic transition has not yet been worked out, a strategy whose relevance, I dare say, may well one day be highly appreciated in other regions and countries likely to face transition and transformation problems.

There is little doubt that international economic relations need to be reformed in the overriding interest of international stability and security. The stronger the economy, the sturdier the political and social fabric of States and, in effect, the greater their resistance to the impact of ethnic conflicts, refugee exoduses and migration problems. This, I believe, is a valid argument in favour of accelerated restructuring of the economies in transition and their early integration into the world economy.

The social implications of economic reform and structural adjustment need to be carefully monitored, both in the developing countries and in those in transition. We expect that the forthcoming United Nations Summit Conference on social policies and development will address these implications in some detail, especially as they relate to Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States. It would certainly be helpful if, in the course of preparations for the conference, the Secretary-General could prepare, by analogy with his report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), a report on the challenges of social and economic development.

Poland welcomes the fact that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro earlier this year, has opened a new chapter of international cooperation by addressing environmental protection issues in a manner compatible with the requirements of sustainable development.

The Decade of International Law has got off to a slow start, yet it still offers a unique framework for enhancing the role of law as the basic factor for order in international relations. We should not miss this opportunity. The United Nations itself is facing a number of legal questions of a highly sensitive nature: Let me refer, by way of example, to the contemporary meaning of sovereignty; the rule of law and domestic jurisdiction of States; respect for international law in conflict situations; global legal mechanisms for the enforcement of human rights; the establishment of an international criminal court; succession of States; and international compensation claims.

As to the solution of conflicts, recourse should be made to Article 36 of the Charter. Security Council recommendations on specific procedures or methods of adjustment of disputes should become a normal practice in cases where parties to a dispute are unable to settle it in accordance with their obligations under paragraph 3 of Article 2. Poland is in favour, in particular, of reinforcing the role of the International Court of Justice.

I wish to conclude by noting that enduring world peace is inconceivable without law and justice standing out as unfaltering beacons for all men and nations alike.*

Mrs. AF UGGLAS (Sweden): I should like to offer you hearty congratulations on your election to the presidency, Sir. I am confident that this session of the General Assembly is in good hands. I should also like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his leadership of the United Nations in an era of crucial change.

It is a sign of the times that since last year no fewer than 13 new Member States have taken their seats in the General Assembly. I should like to extend a warm welcome to them all.

The world is currently undergoing dramatic changes and facing great challenges. Let us not allow the optimism inspired by the revolution which brought freedom to Eastern Europe to turn into a new pessimism as a result of the problems we are facing today.

The end of the cold war has definitely given us a unique opportunity to build a new world order founded on common values, as originally envisaged in the United Nations Charter. International consensus is emerging, based on the principles of democracy and a free economy as prerequisites for the prosperity of the peoples of the world.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

The first reason for my optimism is the end of the East-West conflict. The second reason is that experience has shown that no nation is condemned to a perpetual cycle of poverty, underdevelopment and political violence. Several developing countries have made remarkable progress from absolute poverty to relative prosperity in a very short time.

In addition to traditional contributions from the industrial countries, we can observe a tendency for economically successful developing countries to share their know-how and experience with other countries which have not yet achieved the same level of growth. New forms of cooperation between nations at different stages of development are emerging.

We are living in an era when the removal of the risk of a nuclear holocaust makes other threats to peace and security stand out all the more clearly. This applies to problems of economic development, to the growing threat to the environment, and to ethnic and religious conflicts which have become severely aggravated in certain areas. Even though security will continue to have a military dimension, these challenges can be met only by applying a broader security concept which takes all aspects into account.

In the long term, problems and conflicts of this kind can be solved only in an environment where there is a greater focus on cooperation. This can be achieved through the free exchange of know-how and goods, through regional cooperation and through institution-building: the establishment and strengthening of international structures within and outside the United Nations system. In the future, the greatness of a nation will be measured not by its military potential but by its ability to create a civil society through peaceful cooperation.

A world of open, civil societies must also be a world of open markets. In Western Europe, peace and prosperity have been consolidated and secured through the free flow of goods and services. In the same way, peace and prosperity in what is usually termed the third world can be achieved only by global free trade and more open frontiers.

We in the West must do more than merely open up our markets. It is also our responsibility to support economic and social progress in the developing countries by giving generous assistance. Assistance is particularly important for the poorest countries which are not yet able to benefit fully from freer world trade.

Sweden considers it essential that the Western industrial countries achieve the goal of allocating 0.7 per cent of their gross national income to development assistance. Development assistance must effectively promote respect for human rights, democracy and market-economy solutions. Unfortunately, increasing resources are needed also to help people who are suffering from famine, war and other disasters.

Regional cooperation, which has been given new impetus following the end of East-West confrontation, will play an increasingly dynamic role in tomorrow's world. And, in its turn, regional cooperation can promote global cooperation. If opportunities for regional cooperation are utilized in the right manner, this cooperation will provide the bricks for building global integration. But if these opportunities are not handled properly, the result will be narrow-minded nationalism and economic protectionism.

European integration and the reunification of Eastern and Western Europe on the basis of common values and aims have created new opportunities for pan-European cooperation. Future stability depends on the success of the transition in Eastern Europe and in the States of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which makes demands on European solidarity.

A united and successful Europe can play an important and positive role at the international level. It is Sweden's firm intention to become a member of the European Community. As a member, Sweden will continue to work for a Europe which is open to the world, economically, culturally and politically. In our view, an introverted Europe is not a viable alternative.

Environmental threats, natural disasters and terrorism will continue to present us with formidable challenges. Mass poverty and accelerating population growth still trouble many countries. Drug use and drug trafficking remain major concerns for the international community. We have seen that societies can break down both as a result of domestic problems and under external pressure.

It is a fact that the massive flows of refugees which we see today are just as likely to be caused by human activities as by natural disasters. In Europe, we have been unable so far to stop the tragic developments in the former Yugoslavia. This is the most brutal conflict experienced in our region since the Second World War. Sweden is endeavouring to strengthen regional mechanisms and the international framework in order to deal with conflicts of the type we have seen in the Balkans, in Moldavia and in the Caucasus.

In its own vicinity, Sweden has focused on the risk of conflict inherent in the unregulated stationing of former Soviet troops in the sovereign Baltic States. We welcome the recent agreement on troop withdrawal reached by Russia and Lithuania and expect that similar agreements will be concluded with Estonia and Latvia as well.

Although the end of the cold war has encouraged steps towards peaceful solutions, regional conflicts, often of long standing, continue to claim victims in many parts of the world. In parts of Africa, regional conflicts are aggravated by protracted drought, which has contributed to a famine affecting millions of people. No one can be indifferent to the situation in Somalia, where the civilian population has been hit harder than anywhere else.

In other parts of the Horn of Africa as well, the inhabitants are suffering the effects of war. Sweden is participating in the ongoing international humanitarian relief measures by contributing substantial resources. However, humanitarian assistance must be combined with political efforts to establish a lasting peace.

The positive features of developments in South Africa, where important steps have been taken towards a negotiated settlement, are overshadowed by political violence which is tending to create a vicious circle. The Swedish Government supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in contributing to an end to the violence and to resumed negotiations leading to the speedy abolishment of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic South Africa.

The historic opportunity to achieve peace which has now opened up in the Middle East must not be lost. However, if peace is to have real content, there must be a comprehensive settlement including all the aspects discussed by the multilateral working parties within the framework of the peace process. The Middle East could greatly benefit from regional cooperation in a number of areas.

When the parties to a conflict sit down at the negotiating table, a dynamic process of confidence-building is often created. We hope that such dynamic effects will occur, both in the political process in South Africa and in the peace process in the Middle East.

Recent developments in the disarmament area have been particularly hopeful. In the past year, the United States and the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States concerned agreed to cut back their strategic nuclear stockpiles by two thirds and to eliminate most of their tactical nuclear weapons.

The draft convention on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons represents a historic achievement in international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We hope that growing international consensus will lead to further effective measures to deal with weapons of mass destruction and their proliferation. Sweden pays particular attention to the non-profileration of nuclear weapons and to the strengthening and indefinite extension of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons as a result of the 1995 Review Conference.

(Mrs. af Ugglas, Sweden)

An important task for this session of the General Assembly is to follow up the decisions taken at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in June. Industrial and developing countries must work together in a spirit of cooperation and solidarity to deal with threats to our environment and to achieve environmentally sound development.

A Swedish poet once wrote: "What force may create is uneasy and brief". This is also what history teaches. Lasting solutions to crises and conflicts caused by political and religious antagonisms must be based on the principles of democracy and international law. It is therefore in everyone's interest to safeguard the rule of international law, transcending national, ethnic, and religious frontiers.

In Europe we have seen a welcome development of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). During the cold war the role of the CSCE was to build bridges. Its central task now is to support the Eastern European countries in their transition and to help these new States to find forms for peaceful coexistence. When Sweden assumes the chairmanship of the CSCE Council of Ministers in December, I intend to work for the further enhancement of the capacity of the CSCE to build peace and settle conflicts.

Coordination between the United Nations and the CSCE was strengthened when the CSCE, in Helsinki, explicity pronounced itself a regional organization as defined in the United Nations Charter. This is having a positive effect, for example on endeavours to solve the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Different forms of cooperative security between the United Nations and regional organizations are also being introduced in other conflict areas.

However, the United Nations has the fundamental responsibility for the interpretation and application of international law. Enforcement measures remain the prerogative of the United Nations. But the United Nations must be strengthened in important respects if it is to be able to meet the demands of today and the expectations of tomorrow.

Sweden wants to contribute to this process. In the first instance, the peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building capacity of the United Nations must be reinforced. This applies to the Security Council, which bears the main responsibility for peace and security under the Charter. It also applies to the Secretary-General, who should be given greater possibilities for taking initiatives.

Regarding the strengthening of the Security Council, I am primarily thinking of the Council's possibilities for dealing with threats to international peace and security at an early stage. However, caution should be exercised in changing the Council's composition and its decision-making procedures, since the Council is now at long last functioning as the Charter intended. At the same time, it is important that the decisions of the Security Council continue to enjoy wide support from Member States. This requires close cooperation between members of the Security Council and other Members of the United Nations.

Sweden welcomes the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Peace". Several of the proposals presented in his report were discussed by the Nordic countries in an earlier document entitled: "Shaping the Peace - the United Nations in the 1990s". In this document we appealed for, among other things, strengthening the Security Council's and the Secretary-General's capacities to undertake preventive diplomacy. It is gratifying to note that this issue has now been given the highest priority.

(Mrs. af Ugglas, Sweden)

It is of the utmost importance that the United Nations be given concrete possibilities for anticipating and preventing conflicts. It should be possible to deploy peace-keeping forces for preventive purposes. The parties to a conflict should be urged to apply to the International Court of Justice for the peaceful settlement of their disputes. Violations of fundamental human rights can constitute a threat to international peace and security and hence be subject to measures by the Security Council.

As regards the difficult question of the use of coercive measures to keep or build peace under Article 42 of the Charter, and the establishment of permanent United Nations forces on a national basis for this purpose, we have every reason carefully to follow and analyse these matters. Any change in United Nations practice must take place in the broadest possible agreement.

The Secretary-General's report also contains proposals for financing traditional peace-keeping missions. The question of financing has become increasingly important as United Nations peace-keeping endeavours have been extended. Peace-keeping activities must not be based on the charity of Member countries, as has often been the case in the past. The Nordic countries have concluded that the establishment of a contingency fund for peace-keeping operations would constitute an important step towards solving the question of financing.

But peace-keeping operations are only one aspect of the financing difficulties of the United Nations. If the United Nations is to be capable of fulfilling its role in the future, now that the political prerequisites exist, a long-term solution must be found for the Organization's financial crisis. Furthermore, all Member States must pay their assessed contributions in accordance with their obligations under the Charter.

(Mrs. af Ugglas, Sweden)

We are gratified to note that the broader security concept which Sweden advocates is included in "An Agenda for Peace". This view should be the basis for the reform of the whole United Nations system. In his report to this year's session of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General has further developed his thoughts on this issue. His central message is that a distinction cannot and should not be made between United Nations tasks in the political sphere and those in the economic and social fields. Sweden supports this view. In this context, the proposal to hold a world summit for social development in 1995 takes on particular significance.

In the Nordic United Nations project, several concrete proposals are presented for making the work of United Nations development assistance more effective - for example, through a new governance structure and a new financing system. We welcome the first step taken by the General Assembly in strengthening the capacity of the United Nations to respond to humanitarian emergencies. Following the July session of the Economic and Social Council, we hope that it will be possible to proceed successfully with the reform measures in the economic and social fields during this session of the General Assembly.

The protection of human rights is also included in the broader security concept. In preparation for next year's United Nations Conference on Human Rights, Sweden intends to work for measures and procedures which can increase respect for human rights throughout the world, both in developing countries and in industrial countries. Let me stress that the Swedish Government considers that there is a clear connection between respect for fundamental human rights and economic and social development. Consequently, the question of a country's development cannot be divorced from its implementation of respect for human rights.

(Mrs. af Ugglas, Sweden)

Sweden is presenting its candidature for a seat on the United Nations Security Council for the 1993-1994 period of office. We are doing so on the basis of the active role we have traditionally played in the United Nations system. In the election of non-permanent members of the Council, the Charter prescribes that due regard be paid to the contribution of Members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization.

(Mrs. af Ugglas, Sweden)

Many Swedes have served the United Nations, both in the Secretariat and in the field. Names such as Folke Bernadotte and Dag Hammarskjold are part of United Nations history.

Sweden has participated in practically all United Nations peace-keeping operations. On the basis of our experience in this area, we and the other Nordic countries can offer advice and training to countries which are now preparing for peace-keeping missions.

Sweden placed the problems of the environment on the agenda of the United Nations. It hosted the first United Nations Conference in this area.

For many years, we have been in the vanguard of the United Nations work in the economic and social sphere, both as regards planning and financing.

Sweden is a major donor to many of the United Nations development agencies and the fourth-largest contributor to the United Nations system as a whole.

If Sweden wins support for its candidature for a seat on the United Nations Security Council, it will entail greater responsibility than was the case when we participated in the work of the Council sixteen years ago. We are prepared to shoulder this responsiblity.

In an international environment which presents new challenges and opportunities for cooperation, Sweden's United Nations policy can be summarized in the following three points.

First, we want to contribute to the reinforcement of United Nations peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building capability. This is a question of maintaining the Security Council's effectiveness, which also assumes that its decisions enjoy the wide support of Member States.

The Secretary-General should be given greater possibilities to take initiatives. It is essential that the financing of peace-keeping operations be guaranteed. Sweden supports the proposal for the establishment of a special contingency fund.

Secondly, we want to work for an extension of international structures for cooperation to enable us to meet the threats to peace, security and economic development in the 1990s. We attach great importance to the interaction between the United Nations and regional organizations.

Thirdly, we want to promote the application of a broader security concept which contains not merely a military component but also human rights, democracy, economic freedom, social justice and environmental responsibility. We support the view that United Nations tasks in the political sphere and in the economic and social field must be considered in the same context. A comprehensive view of this nature, based on the United Nations Charter, should form the basis for reform of the United Nations system.

The United Nations can establish genuine security in the world. It can do so only by tackling the roots of insecurity.

Mr. SILVA CIMMA (Chile) (interpretation from Spanish): In our times, a unique advance has been made in the search for peace, understanding and cooperation among peoples. Mankind is progressively becoming more and more aware of this new reality.

Accordingly, the present juncture is an appropriate one for reflection and dialogue within the framework of the United Nations, for a review of our achievements as well as of our shortcomings, and for a serious, in-depth study of the role we assign to the Organization and the hopes we seek to fulfil, hopefully in the near future.

I wish to reiterate here the conviction of President Aylwin's Government regarding the moral, political and social imperative of placing the needs of people at the heart of United Nations activities. Reducing poverty, increasing employment and promoting social cohesion are needs shared by the entire international community.

For these reasons, the importance of this forty-seventh session of the General Assembly is inarguable.

We welcome the new Member States that have joined the United Nations and that will take part with us in its endeavours.

We welcome your election, Mr. President, since it will permit an experienced figure in world politics to guide our deliberations and lead them to an outcome which is satisfactory to all. At the same time we appreciate the judicious administration of your illustrious predecessor, Ambassador Shihabi.*

The world is on the threshold of the twenty-first century. We have left behind us the senseless ideological confrontations between the super-Powers and the danger of nuclear holocaust.

But there is no guarantee of peace. There are still old tensions and new ones the result of racism, religious fanaticism and extreme nationalism; there remains the historic challenge of development for all; and there is still a terrible social debt - which cannot be rescheduled - to the most disenfranchised members of all our societies.

Our Organization is still faced with many challenges calling for more effective action. The war in Bosnia and the grave reports of massive violations of human rights, reaching the point of genocide, in the territories devastated by the conflict in the former Yugoslavia demand concerted and vigorous action.

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* Mr. Phoofolo (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The auspicious but still uncertain process launched in South Africa poses new challenges for our Organization.

The ongoing negotiations on the Middle East augur well for the future, but other situations in the world still pose a threat to peace.

Social confrontation, the outcome of the growing gap between well-being and poverty, has become a source of global instability. Today more than ever, development with equity is the new requirement for peace, a common task we are called upon to join together and undertake.

Now that the cold war is over, the role of the United Nations has taken on more relevance than ever before. The Organization has a central role to play in building a new international order which will make it possible to face the crises that constitute serious threats to peace in many parts of the world.

These crises, and a whole series of economic, social and environmental challenges, can be overcome only if the Organization is strengthened, commands more respect and becomes more efficient in the pursuit of its lofty goals.

Of course, it is essential that this enormous task we are calling on the world Organization to perform be complemented by the preventive activities carried out by regional organizations. Our own regional organization, the Organization of American States, is carrying out that mission by engaging in a realistic and tenacious effort to forestall or resolve the region's varied and difficult problems.

But it is in the United Nations that we must develop the concepts, principles and agreements which will make the security of individuals a priority objective of international cooperation. This, in turn, will enhance coexistence among States.

We must search together for new political directions that allow us to strengthen the role of the Organization in the maintenance of peace and security, in the defence of human rights, in the protection of the environment, in the struggle against drug trafficking and terrorism and in closing the gap between North and South.

The starting-point must be the values that inspire our action. Chile proclaims before this worldwide forum its unswerving dedication to peace and respect for the dignity of the individual, its conviction that justice is the foundation of any truly stable society, its belief in the universal value of human rights, its respect for individual creativity and democracy as an ideal form of government - its commitment, in short, to the needs of the most humble in all our societies and its recognition of the validity of law and of the search for consensus as a foundation for major national and international agreements.

Chile firmly believes in the Charter of the United Nations. There is no substitute for this Organization as a world parliament, as a forum for international debates and agreements, as a source of innovative technical analysis and as a multilateral body responsible for peace, security and development.

Just as we back the role of the United Nations without reservation, we likewise set no limits on our demand that it should be efficient and democratic in the attainment of its objectives. Certainly, that depends on the will of Governments, as well as on the strengthening of the competence and autonomy of the Secretariat.

Above all, a balance needs to be struck between the General Assembly as the principal political organ, the Security Council as the organ responsible for dealing with the traditional problems of peace and security, and the Economic and Social Council as the primary body for promoting sustainable and equitable development.

Mutually respectful interaction among these three levels should permit the United Nations to take the lead in creating an international order of peace in which the interests and problems of all countries are adequately represented.

In this new world order which is taking shape and which all members of the Organization must contribute to designing, a vitally important place is occupied by the Secretary-General's report, entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), which contains ideas and suggestions regarding preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building.

Chile agrees that the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security should be strengthened.

While preventive diplomacy is playing an increasingly significant role on the international scene, the concept of peace-building, in the sense of creating a new climate and strengthening security through economic, social and cultural development, is a fundamental issue.

Our country is collaborating with the United Nations and is prepared to increase its participation in the future, should that prove necessary. Chile's readiness in this regard has been expressed in its support for the Security Council in the decisions that have been adopted. Likewise, it has in recent years placed at the service of the United Nations the knowledge and professional experience of its armed forces and forces of public order. Chilean soldiers have traditionally been among the members of the United Nations observer forces in the Middle East and the Asian subcontinent. Our marines are initiating their activities in Cambodia, our pilots have been active in Kuwait, and our police are collaborating with the peace force in El Salvador.

In this spirit of service to the cause of peace, Chile is a constant participant in the debates in multilateral forums on disarmament on a global scale, without prejudice to our active involvement on the regional level.

We support the Convention on chemical weapons and reiterate our legitimate desire to become a full member of the Conference on Disarmament once the issue of its enlargement becomes the subject of real discussion.

In the regional sphere, we see as important the initiative we have taken, together with Argentina and Brazil, that is designed to give full effect to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean through a set of amendments intended to strengthen its monitoring system and which the conference of signatories has approved by acclamation.

In the context of the positive spirit that has succeeded the cold-war period and is characterized by the search for agreements and a climate of friendship and collaboration between the Powers, my country considers that the time has come to undertake, on a carefully thought-out time scale, the total elimination of nuclear weapons, and to put a definitive end right now to the testing of such weapons.

I join my voice with those of the Ministers of the Nordic Group who, meeting at Svalbard, welcome the efforts being made, particularly the halting of the French tests in the Pacific, and expressed their wish that the voluntary moratorium on all nuclear explosions should become a permanent one, removing from the world once and for all these practices which threaten our security, coexistence and environment.

In the years to come, we shall have to take up the issue of the composition of the Security Council. We believe that this important body should reflect new international realities, and we are accordingly ready to consider with interest and sympathy new formulas that would appropriately reflect the aspirations of new world Powers which are seeking to become regular members of the Council.

(Mr. Silva Cimma, Chile)

It is also essential to strengthen the presence in that body of the various developing regions. Inevitably, this will entail greater participation numerically, as well as new forms of regional representation.

With improvements over time, this practice could become a mechanism for representation of the regional groups which would combine freedom of action for the country elected with the expression of the will of the countries of its region. This system, if effectively operated, could ensure that all Members of the Organization feel that they are participating to the proper extent in the decisions of the Security Council.

Chile is also interested in strengthening the Economic and Social Council. According to the Charter of the United Nations, this is the principal specialized body of the system for analysing in an integrated way the political, technical and operational dimensions of current economic and social problems. The Council should be strengthened and renewed in order to become a true council for development, capable of guiding high-level dialogue, formulating development policies and providing proper guidance for the operational activities of the system.

We shall be participating actively in discussions under way on these issues on the basis of the interesting proposals submitted by the Nordic countries and the Group of 77, and of the resolutions of the most recent session of the Council.

A factor that will contribute to the reform of the Economic and Social Council will be the establishment, under it, of the commission for sustainable development, which is called upon to become the body for monitoring environmental problems. The link between the commission on sustainable development and the world environment fund is also the key to the success of Agenda 21, the ambitious programme of action approved by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

The practical results of the Conference, which were characterized by the great effort made to reach agreement, are being carefully watched by the public at large, which is participating in ever-greater numbers in this process.

The signing of the Conventions on biological diversity and climate change, the convening of the world conferences on desertification - a subject of great interest to many countries, but of vital importance to the African nations - and the conference on fishing on the high seas are milestones in the international effort to preserve the environment.

We cannot enter a new era of world peace - although it is potentially within our grasp - if we forget the human being. In the final analysis, our capacity to lead and the raison d'être of the United Nations will be measured by the success we achieve in the field of social development.

Without greater well-being for all our citizens, there will be no peace, security or lasting stability at either the national or the international level. That is why we put forward the initiative for a world summit for social development. This proposal was recently endorsed unanimously in the Economic and Social Council, which approved a positive recommendation to the General Assembly that it convene the summit at the beginning of 1995 at the level of Heads of State and Heads of Government.

I should like to take this occasion to thank all the Member States which participated in that consensus, and in particular the 121 countries that sponsored the relevant resolution. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for having assigned to our representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Juan Somavia, the task of bringing to a successful conclusion the consultations required to put this initiative into effect.

The first step has now been taken. Much remains to be done. There is no doubt that the primary responsibility for resolving this situation is borne at the domestic level. Each country must take steps to stabilize the functioning of its political system, encourage investment, trade and technological development and ensure equitable distribution of income.

Chile has accepted that challenge. It is growing today at an annual rate of 7 per cent and has reduced unemployment to about 5 per cent and inflation to 13 per cent a year. In addition, under President Aylwin's Government, the process of solving the problem of external debt has been concluded, the real income of salaried workers has increased by 15 per cent and policies designed to alleviate the poverty of the most disenfranchised sectors of the population have been implemented. This has been done on the basis of an open economy which has concentrated on both economic and social efficiency against a background of personal freedom and political democracy.

Although the success of these programmes has been recognized by the various sectors in our national life, we are aware that much more still needs to be done with our resources. But we are equally aware that the benefits for our country would be significantly greater if the ground rules of the international economy were more equitable.

Even while most of the world is calling, with growing clarity and force, for the abolition of protectionism and the formulation of stable and non-discriminatory rules to govern international trade, unilateral measures are reversing this world-wide trend and giving rise to direct forms of protectionism in the main world markets, in a departure from the principles and regulatory framework established under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

I now wish to say a few words on the Secretariat.

First, we welcome the election of the distinguished scholar, diplomat and politician Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Secretary-General. The Members of the United Nations are witnesses to Chile's consistent support for the African continent's aspiration to see one of its own in that high post. We have already expressed our opinion publicly at the bilateral level, within the Non-Aligned Movement and in the General Assembly last year. We already have evidence of the Secretary-General's character and decision-making ability. We support him in his task.

The Secretariat is of course a vital organ under the Charter and in the United Nations system. In order to meet the challenges that lie ahead, it must act with the maximum efficiency and autonomy.

The Secretariat is at the service of all countries, and accordingly all of them must be properly represented at its various levels. The efficiency of the Organization depends to a large extent on the confidence Governments have in the technical ability, experience and impartiality of its staff.

At a time when we are asking the Organization to perform all the tasks that arise in this era, its constant financial insecurity is absurd. It is essential to enhance the fluidity and automaticity of countries' payment of their assessments. This is doubtless a responsibility that is shared by all, but to the greatest extent by the main contributors. We cannot have a strong Organization with a weak financial base.

The specialized agencies and regional commissions are called upon to continue playing a vital role in such fields as cooperation for development, protection of the environment and economic and social analysis. The contributions they have made, to the benefit above all of the developing world, must be assessed at their true value.*

The support of the United Nations for the second Space Conference of the Americas, to be held shortly in Santiago, is another example that regional and global efforts are complementary.

Chile has long had the privilege of being the site of important regional offices of the world Organization. Their presence in our country is proof of Chile's commitment to the activities of the United Nations, which we shall always be prepared to support.

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* Mr. Phoofolo (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The subject of the United Nations, which is certainly what has brought us together, is an exciting one for the international community. Indeed, fulfilment of the purposes and principles of its Charter has been a constant concern of our country. Likewise, failure to respect them arouses a sense of frustration.

The duties and rights of each Member State *vis-a-vis* the Organization can in no way be reduced to a matter of legalities or to simple mechanical action. We recognize a real commitment to the United Nations system, and consequently we discharge each of our duties responsibly.

The nations assembled here and indeed the world have before them the best possible opportunity of firmly guaranteeing the future of coming generations, a substantial improvement in the quality of life, the elimination of the development gap and the attainment of peace - in short, the opportunity of building a better world for all and with all. Let us all take up that challenge.

AGENDA ITEM 111 (*continued*)

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR THE APPORTIONMENT OF THE EXPENSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/47/442/Add.2)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to document A/47/442/Add.2, which contains a letter addressed to me by the Secretary-General informing me that since the issuance of his communications dated 15 September and 18 September 1992 Gambia has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter. May I take it that the General Assembly duly takes note of this information?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. PINHEIRO (Portugal) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): At the outset, I should like to congratulate the President and the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly on their respective election. I am certain that their recognized personal qualities guarantee, in the eyes of all those present, an outstanding stewardship of our work.

I thank the outgoing President, Ambassador Samir Shihabi, for the dedication he showed throughout the last session of the General Assembly, thereby contributing to the consolidation of the process leading to the reform of the Assembly.

I also address the Secretary-General, under whose aegis it has already been possible to take concrete and decisive steps towards a thorough reform of the Organization and the restructuring of the Secretariat along more flexible and operational lines. My Government appreciates that initiative and gives it its full support. Portugal views "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) in that light. As was made clear by the British Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas Hurd, who spoke this morning on behalf of the European Community and its member States, we believe that the proposals presented by Mr. Boutros-Ghali deserve special attention.

It fell to Portugal to preside over the European Community Council of Ministers during a period of turmoil in recent history. Everywhere traditional alignments are disappearing. Regimes which until recently were held to be unchangeable are giving way to new institutions, oriented towards the defence of human dignity and democratic pluralism. The legacy of several decades has been shaken up in a few short years.

During the first half of 1992 the Portuguese Presidency of the Council sought to promote a greater opening of the Community to the outside. I do not speak merely of enlargement and political dialogue; I speak of modalities of cooperation and assistance and the presentation of constructive proposals to deal with important issues in international economic relations. I also speak of the incentives for regional integration throughout the world.

Furthermore, the external activity of the European Community did not ignore crisis situations. In this respect, the conflict involving several republics of the former Yugoslavia stands out. Priority was given to the involvement of the United Nations in the search for a political solution to that grave crisis. We sought from the beginning to generate synergism between the efforts of the European Community and the action of the Secretary-General and the Security Council. I believe that the degree achieved, both at the level of the decision-making bodies of the two organizations and in the field, where European Community monitors and United Nations peace-keeping forces are deployed, is extremely positive. I am certain that it will have to continue to be so.

I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate Portugal's full agreement with the principles and measures defined at the recent London Conference. They are the basis for a negotiated settlement of the problems of the former Yugoslavia. We support the peace process that was relaunched on that occasion under the experienced guidance of Lord Owen and Mr. Cyrus Vance. The foundation of that process consists of work already done in the framework of the Conference presided over by Lord Carrington, to whom I am grateful for his competence and dedication.

Lastly, I must pay tribute, for the tasks they have performed, under circumstances of extreme hardship, even involving the sacrifice of their own lives, to the members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), in which Portugal has the privilege of participating, the European Community monitoring mission and all the humanitarian agencies involved.

I have been emphasizing that the road to progress is built on a sharing of responsibility by various actors in the international community. It was in that light that Lisbon hosted last May the Conference on assistance to the newly independent States.

Following the first Conference on that subject, the Washington Conference, we sought to give an answer to the challenges presented by the collapse of the Soviet Union, an event which I then considered to be among the most significant of the century. Aware of the obstacles to be overcome, the participating countries agreed to lend their support to structural programmes of assistance and economic cooperation in a macroeconomic sense. Such actions would complement and not duplicate the programmes being implemented by several financial institutions.

As for the political side of the Conference, it was restated that the new States must try to develop progressively a regional form of cooperation reflecting the mutual dependence that exists in so many vital sectors.

To that aim we must add the demand for full respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the commitments of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Such conduct is essential for continued assistance and the process of democratic reform.

We are witnessing events of great scope and significance in other parts of the world. The Middle East peace process exhibits a new and encouraging vitality which must be fostered by all. There are no viable alternatives to that process, which was initiated in Madrid.

Portugal, like its partners in the Community, considers that any just, lasting and comprehensive settlement of the question of the Middle East must be based upon Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). That belief was reiterated in June, together with a message of hope from the European Community Council meeting in Lisbon. It is now reinforced by the new policies of the Israeli Government, and it will be further strengthened by gestures of reciprocity from the Arab Governments.

We have always advocated the presence of the United Nations in the peace process, commensurate with the importance of its role in international politics in general and the Middle East in particular.

(Mr. Pinheiro, Portugal)

Security and stability in the Mediterranean are vital strategic factors for Europe, especially for those States that, like ours, are close neighbours of that region. In this regard, the Maghreb is particularly relevant for us. Geographical proximity, a common history and close ties justify the genuine concern with which we have followed the political, social and economic problems the Maghreb is experiencing. We are aware that their effects threaten a delicate balance and the well-being of its populations.

For these reasons, the European Community is committed to strengthening regional solidarity and establishing innovative forms of dialogue and cooperation reflecting the aims of partnership that motivate both sides. The Lisbon meeting of the European Community Council confirmed this view of the future in a clear Declaration which will renew the ties between the European Community and the Maghreb in all fields.

Though an Atlantic country, Portugal does not forsake its Mediterranean heritage.

Portugal devotes special attention to Africa. We follow with expectancy and optimism the processes of reconciliation and democratization under way throughout southern Africa.

In Angola the day of the long-awaited general elections is nearing. In spite of the structural and logistical difficulties, I am certain that, whatever the outcome, the Angolan people will find their way towards a pluralistic and tolerant society, whose foundations will be the nation's enormous potential and its human and natural resources.

Turning to Mozambique, Portugal gladly welcomes the recent meeting between President Chissano and Mr. Afonso Dhlkama, President of RENAMO. Mutual trust and open dialogue are, and will continue to be, decisive for an irreversible advance of the Mozambican peace process. We therefore hope that the spirit of Rome will remain alive among all the participants.

Everything indicates that the United Nations will play a preponderant role in the subsequent stages of the process. In the wake of the success of the United Nations involvement in Angola, I appeal to the Organization to give the attention, the means and the resources needed so that Mozambique in its turn, in the near future, may reach peace, democracy and long-sought economic progress.

As for South Africa, a country which is vital to regional stability, Portugal has maintained close contacts with its major political forces, urging them to engage in dialogue and practise tolerance.

A drastic reduction in social tension and the resumption of talks in the framework of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) are an absolute priority which we must pursue so as to eradicate the structural causes of a decades-old conflict.

Portugal wholeheartedly supports the sending of United Nations, European Community and Organization of African Unity observers to South Africa. These observers may play a significant role. We see no credible alternative to this concerted effort.

We have sought to encourage the dialogue between Europe and Latin America in this period of noteworthy development and regional integration initiatives. In this respect I should like to emphasize the significance of the Eighth Ministerial Meeting of the San Jose countries, held in Lisbon, and the Second Institutionalized Ministerial Meeting of the Rio Group, held in Santiago. At both meetings, new forms of cooperation were established - agreement on the promotion of human rights at the first and on greater involvement of the European Investment Bank in programmes for the development of the South American continent at the second.

Man is the reason for all our efforts. His dignity is, after all, our guiding universal value. Thus it is not legitimate to allow the collapse of Governments, civil wars or adverse natural conditions to jeopardize human lives and render mere survival a daily battle.

Portugal associates itself with the efforts under way to ease the suffering of the civilian population of Somalia, a crisis which is constantly in our minds. Despite all the actions carried out by the international community, a solution to this tragedy is yet to be found. Situations such as these must be faced and dealt with in a different way. Relief for the afflicted populations comes before any local political conditionalities and cannot be subject to any preconditions or distortions whatsoever in its distribution. There is clearly a need for preventive action by the United Nations, making available the necessary humanitarian aid and peace-keeping forces in the early stages of crises whenever possible.

The defence of each individual's dignity, an aim which must guide us at all times, has been the leitmotif of my statement as the representative of Portugal.

The universal and indivisible nature of human rights is a principle which deserves general acceptance. Portugal maintains that condemnation of any violations of such rights can no longer be considered to be interference in the internal affairs of a State. We believe that the observance of the main international covenants is a fundamental condition for peace and progress. In this respect, we state unequivocally that there is a direct link between human rights, democracy and development; that is, development aid, in order to be productive - and therefore justifiable - presupposes the practice of democracy and fundamental freedoms at the receiving end. We still have a long way to go.

I should like once more to alert the international community to the situation in East Timor, a Non-Self-Governing Territory under Portuguese authority illegally occupied by Indonesia, in violation of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

We all recall the tragic events that took place in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November 1991, which rightly received universal condemnation.

When faced with unprecedented criticism, the Indonesian Government made promises, set up committees of inquiry, offered condolences and subsribed to a consensus statement of the Commission on Human Rights. Nevertheless, it refused to accept any inquiry under international supervision which could shed light on what had happened and clarify the circumstances which made it possible. The subsequently released report of the inquiry that did take place did little in this respect.

On the other hand, heavy prison sentences - including a life term - were given to survivors of the killing, not indicted for violent activities, while the military personnel involved in the shooting were charged with mere disciplinary offences and given purely token prison terms.

All of this contradicted the undertaking in the Commission on Human Rights, as the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities recently recognized in a resolution adopted for the first time by an absolute majority.

To avoid the repetition of massacres and other grave violations of human rights, we must address the true causes of this situation and initiate a new stage of consideration of the issue. Portugal, in its capacity as administering Power recognized by the United Nations, presented to the Secretary-General last January a proposal for a dialogue, without preconditions and under his auspices, with Indonesia and all the parties directly involved. The objective is a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution, with full respect for the legitimate interests of the East Timorese people, including the right to self-determination, in conformity with the principles of the Charter and international law.

To that end, we have spared no effort and look forward to hearing the results of the Secretary-General's initiative when, in the next few days in New York, he will host an informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia.

In conclusion, I recall that a year ago I exhorted all States Members of the Organization to work together to achieve the essential aims of the Charter.

The responsibilities placed upon my Government in the course of 1992 have given us a clearer perception of the nature of the arduous tasks before us.

It is our duty to correct history's errors towards man, guided by legal and, above all, ethical principles, so that future generations may remember us through a legacy of justice and peace.

Mrs. BONGO (Gabon) (interpretation from French): May I first, Sir, on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Government and people of Gabon, convey to Ambassador Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria our warm congratulations on his well-deserved election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. His personal qualities and experience in international affairs undoubtedly guarantee the success of our work.

Our congratulations also go to the outgoing President, Ambassador Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, whom we thank for the dynamic and exemplary way in which he discharged his duties.

To the Secretary-General, whose recent election to head our Organization honours all of Africa, we should like to reiterate our full support for everything he is doing to promote preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping, and particularly the peaceful advent of a new world order. His great diplomatic experience is a guarantee of the fulfilment of his commitment to carry out to the best of his ability his delicate and noble mission in the service of the entire world community.

Finally, we welcome all those new States which have come upon the international political scene recently. Their arrival, we are certain, will strengthen the universality of our Organization and contribute to strengthening the bonds of solidarity between Member States.

Since the end of the East-West confrontation our Organization has been demonstrating its ability fully to play the role assigned it by the Charter whenever Member States act collectively. It has demonstrated this particularly in Afghanistan, Central America, Cambodia, Kuwait and Namibia.

This solidarity should be even more effective in settling other conflicts which, regrettably, we witness elsewhere.

At the very opening of this session, the situation in Somalia is particularly disquieting. How can we remain unmoved when we daily see on our television screens faces bearing the imprint of war, disease and hunger? How can we remain indifferent to the pain and tragedy of millions of women and children whose only aspiration is to live in peace in their own environment and to seek better development?

(Mrs. Bongo, Gabon)

Is it not indeed scandalous that in our day and age war and the use of force are still the means preferred by some to settle intercommunity problems? Undoubtedly, this is a challenge to our collective intelligence.

In Somalia, as elsewhere, in a tremendous upsurge of human solidarity we must make a collective effort to put an end to the fratricidal confrontations in order to rebuild trust between communities linked by history and geography that perforce must live in harmony.

For its part, and particularly in the case of Somalia, Gabon has taken concrete steps along these lines.

This appeal equally applies to Mozambique, where natural catastrophes have seriously exacerbated the complexity of a conflict on which discussions are now under way. In this connection the Government of Gabon very much valued the meetings in Rome on 7 August and in Gabarone on 18 September between President Chissano and the leader of RENAMO, Mr. Alfonso Dhlakama.

In another region of the continent, the situation in Liberia is also a matter of grave concern. For two years now efforts to bring about peace on the part of the Economic Community of West African States have encountered obstacles despite the presence among the belligerents of 7,000 "White Helmets" of the disengagement forces of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG).

Apart from subregional action, which is highly commendable, the United Nations has provided welcome aid to the Liberian population.

The international community clearly provides the necessary means for all those who, despite their own difficulties, are making a contribution to bringing about peace in those countries.

With respect to the situations in the Sudan, Rwanda, Niger, Mali and Chad, the Government of Gabon will support all initiatives to bring about a peaceful settlement of the disputes between members of the same family.

With respect to the situations in the Sudan, Rwanda, Niger, Mali and Chad, the Government of Gabon will support all initiatives to bring about a peaceful settlement of the disputes between members of the same family.

It is in this spirit that Gabon has often offered its good offices in the settlement of conflicts in Africa.

The case of South Africa is of deepest concern to us. Indeed, the system of apartheid has still not disappeared from the South African political landscape. To be sure, a few months ago, under unprecedented international pressure, the Government in Pretoria committed itself to a policy of reform designed to eradicate this odious system. But for some months now we have been witnessing an intensification of violence as a means of political expression. The Boipatong massacre and the Ciskei events are unfortunate examples which undermine the efforts to promote dialogue, which Gabon and the international community at large so earnestly seek.

The promises of the South African Government gave some comfort to all those who want a positive outcome to the situation in that country so that it can join the comity of nations through the resumption of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) talks. But nothing at the present time would allow the international community to relax its pressure nor to reduce its vigilance with respect to Pretoria, particularly as our Organization, whose recent initiatives deserve to be encouraged, is urgently demanding the application of the principle one-man, one-vote.

(Mrs. Bongo, Gabon)

With respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict, at the core of which is still the question of Palestine, the new spirit now pervading international relations, as well as the desire to reach a diplomatic solution voiced by the parties involved, are conducive to giving a fresh and lasting impetus to the peace process begun in Madrid in October 1991 which is currently continuing in Washington.

How can we remain indifferent to the tragedy we are witnessing in the former Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Quite clearly, what we have here is a major challenge where humanitarian assistance, even with the help of military logistics, is not sufficient. Gabon, which wishes to see a speedy peaceful outcome to this conflict, highly commends the leading role now being played by the United Nations.

Generally speaking, all Member States expect our Organization to play a decisive role in peace-keeping and in maintaining international security, as well as in the eradication of poverty and in the struggle against famine. That is why my country wholeheartedly supports the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in his "Agenda for Peace".

If it is to serve its purpose the Organization must restructure its main organs in the light of the current international situation. To this end, the political role of the General Assembly and the supervisory functions of the Economic and Social Council should be further strengthened in order to make the entire United Nations system more dynamic.

Furthermore, as President Bongo requested from this rostrum, first in 1977, when he was President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and then during the fortieth session of the General Assembly, the countries of the third world should now be represented in the Security Council as permanent members, in order to make decision making at that level more democratic.

International law is being completely rethought. Hallowed concepts of yesteryear, such as "national sovereignty", "territorial integrity" and, above all, "non-interference in the internal affairs of States", behind which the international community was finding it more and more difficult to hide its uneasy conscience, are now being given a new normative content.

Hence, for some years now, a new concept has appeared on the international scene, and that is the "right to interference". It would appear, a priori, to be contradictory with these very principles of "national sovereignty", "territorial integrity", and particularly "non-interference in the internal affairs of States", which underlie peaceful relations among States.

But to assure that this right is not selective or abused, its exercise should be the exclusive responsibility of the United Nations. Furthermore, calling into question certain of these principles is not necessarily a negative step. That step should be taken whenever these principles themselves have led to crises.

In so doing, the United Nations could acquire more extended powers, and hence given the appropriate means, which would enable it to exercise that right, if need be, without any discrimation whatsoever.

In his most recent report on the work of the Organization, in 1991, the former Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, wrote:

> "No system of collective security will remain viable unless workable solutions are sought to the problem of poverty and destitution, afflicting the greater part of the world." (A/46/1, p. 12, VIII)

(Mrs. Bongo, Gabon)

That is why United Nations action would also stand to gain if it were similarly strengthened in the economic and financial fields. In this way, it should continue in the direction it has already taken in order the better to adapt itself to the new challenges facing mankind.

Economics now has a more prominent place in international relations. The creation of an increasing number of subregional and regional economic groupings, as well as the globalization of international trade, have turned our world into one immense market whose working rules should be equitable.

The international community very quickly realized this requirement for complementarity and solidarity when, in 1974, it established a new international economic order.

Similarly, multilateral organizations, such as the European Economic Community, by creating machinery to regulate world trade, have clearly evidenced their desire to come to the assistance of the poorer countries by creating the STABEX and SYSMIN systems.

In the same vein, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has advocated for some years now constructive negotiations between producers and consumers in order to strike a better balance between world supply and demand. The efforts of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) are along the same lines.

In this struggle for development, we realize that the United Nations has taken a number of initiatives, the most recent of which are: the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade, the United Nations Programme for the Economic Recovery of Africa, the Cartagena Consensus and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development.

We can therefore say that, generally speaking, in recent years the world has progressed to some extent towards greater solidarity among all peoples. But there are still serious grounds for concern. Despite the progress made on the debt problem, through the so-called Toronto, Houston and London measures, the question of cancelling the debts of the least developed countries, and considerably reducing them for the other developing countries, remains a burning issue, particularly for the so-called middle-income countries.

(Mrs. Bongo, Gabon)

Up to now Gabon, which falls into that category, has not benefited from any of these measures, whereas at the same time it has seen a sharp drop in its per capita income. It would be in the interests of no one, especially the international community, if the African countries were to go into a downward spiral of economic decline and indebtedness. Today everyone knows that the measures that have been advocated with a view to enabling our continent to escape from this impasse have, for the most part, proved to be inapplicable because they are inappropriate. The balance of payments of some of our countries has been affected by the international monetary system, which influences international exchanges. Therefore, it is urgent that the international community give much more backing to the developing countries, so that they - and the African countries in particular - may participate in world growth.

Africa, 70 per cent of whose exports consist of prime commodities, has been hard hit by the detrimental effects of the fall in the prices of those commodities, and it faces economic problems in addition to that of indebtedness. Again, Africa has undertaken a programme of economic reform, whose results - because of the need simultaneously to implement political reforms and the desire of Governments to achieve consensus in respect of these programmes - have been very slow to emerge.

For all these reasons the international community should promote action in three directions. First, it should stabilize, at a remunerative level, the prices of non-petroleum products; secondly, it should readjust the international monetary system by rationalizing policy on interest and exchange rates; finally, it should provide a substantial increase in public aid to African countries. In other words, we are advocating the creation and

(Mrs. Bongo, Gabon)

implementation of a sort of "Marshall plan" for the African continent. Generally speaking, the problem of combating underdevelopment is of central concern to all of mankind. This is why solidarity should not be selective. Nor should it be confined to mere declarations of intent the purpose of which is to ease one's conscience. It should, for example, take the form of a re-initiation of the process of negotiation on commodity agreements. The success of this new form of cooperation - effective solidarity between peoples - will affect the future of our planet and facilitate improvement of the human condition.

I am quite certain that no delegation present at this meeting would like the cold war to be replaced by North-South confrontation. That being the case, it might seem illusory to pose certain problems - albeit major problems concerning the environment - if, at the same time, solutions are not proposed for the benefit of those countries that have to exploit their raw materials in a more or less intensive way.

Let us not be hypocritical. This is a requirement for survival, as was demonstrated recently at the Rio summit on the environment and, quite recently, at the summit of non-aligned countries. The conditions that are necessary for the preservation of the environment, which is the real heritage of mankind, should not be one-sided. The new concept of international law and the new international order, to which I have referred already, can be reviewed and corrected, and should take into account the new terms of world equilibrium. Otherwise, economic growth and democratic development will be jeopardized.

Despite the acute nature of the various problems to which I have just referred, our Organization has a very gratifying record in the political and diplomatic fields. It should also demonstrate its ability to meet the new challenges facing mankind today. These include the questions of the environment, AIDS and drugs. These subjects have introduced a new set of problems into international thinking, and they require urgent and innovative solutions. In this connection, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development has proved correct the vision of solidarity of those who have always felt that the well-being of nations comes from consultation rather than confrontation.

That Conference was a striking illustration of the ill-adaptedness of the economic choices imposed here and there in the world, by comparison with the resources available on the planet, and, I am quite certain, by comparison with the real needs of our populations. The fact that this coincided with the end of the cold war should make development as important a concept as that of collective security, which has always been one of the main concerns of the United Nations.

Undoubtedly development was one of the main objectives that the founding fathers assigned to the Organization, but security needs have pushed international cooperation in this area into the background. Its reinstatement should take the form of a crusade against underdevelopment. I should like to refer here to the concept of sustainable development, which was mentioned at Rio in connection with my country's rational use of its forest lands. Gabon, which has long since advanced from the stage of simple harvesting to that of ecological management of its forest lands, could not fail to adhere to the two conventions of Rio - the conventions on biodiversity and on climatic changes. Therefore, we shall be very pleased to host, in Libreville in January-February 1993, the first African meetings as a follow-up to the Rio Conference, and we extend a cordial welcome to the representatives of participating States, and wish them a pleasant stay in Gabon.

I should like to conclude my remarks by calling for more solidarity - solidarity in the settlement of disputes, in international security, in co-operative relations between States and peoples, in relations between international financial institutions, and in relations between all our countries, without discrimination. In his report on the activities of the Organization the Secretary-General says:

> "We need a new spirit of commonality, commitment and intellectual creativity to transform a period of hope into an era of fulfilment." (A/47/1, para. 8)

We are talking here about the advent of this new international order - a world that is better and more human, one in which there is real solidarity.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. VYAS (India): Once again my delegation finds itself with no alternative but to exercise its right of reply to the delegation of Pakistan.

In the guise of promoting the noble objective of the exercise of the self-determination of peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation, Pakistan has chosen to comment on the internal situation in my country. The inherent contradiction in the position of Pakistan is evident from the fact that, in the same breath, the representative of Pakistan speaks of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir as being a case in which the process of self-determination is to be exercised and as being an outstanding dispute between Pakistan and India.

Pakistan must clearly understand that the state of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and shall remain so for ever, regardless of Pakistani arguments and manoeuvres. Self-determination does not apply to integral parts of a sovereign State. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have long enjoyed periodic free and fair elections, unlike their brethren in those parts of Kashmir that are under illegal Pakistani occupation.

Pakistan has also spoken of alleged human-rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir. The truth of the matter is that Pakistan is openly interfering in India's internal affairs through its active involvement with terrorist and secessionist elements, who are trained, armed, supplied and sustained by Pakistan, and who infiltrate across the border into India, particularly into Kashmir. The aim and objective of these infiltrators is to undermine the foundations of our democratic State by resorting to criminal methods to terrorize the innocent civilian population.

There is overwhelming independent corroboration and testimony, often based on eye-witness accounts by respected international observers and by the press, of Pakistan's involvement. Just one of these was the report of the United States Department of State "Patterns of Global Terrorism for 1991", which was issued in April this year. That report states categorically:

> "There were continuing credible reports throughout 1991 of official Pakastani support for Kashmiri militant groups engaged in terrorism in Indian-controlled Kashmir, as well as support to Sikh militant groups engaged in terrorism in Indian Punjab."

The report refers also to the provision of weapons and training by Pakistan to these groups.

The terrorist actions sponsored by Pakistan have ruined the economy of the valley and have forced thousand of innocent persons, both Hindu and Muslim, into other parts of India. Pakistan speaks of its desire to commence a bilateral dialogue in accordance with the Simla agreement, but at the same time it violates the Simla agreement itself, which is a mutually agreed upon framework for the conduct of good-neighbourly relations and for the resolution of bilateral issues, and which asks for the prevention of acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations.

We still hope that Pakistan will realize the gravity of its actions and will return to the Simla agreement in letter and spirit.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of India, in what is now a familiar but an unconvincing style of reasoning, has tried to divert the attention of this body from the harsh realities in Indian-held Kashmir by advancing misleading arguments and levelling baseless allegations against my country.

We have time and again tried to put the facts in their correct legal and moral perspective, and have categorically rejected the unfounded allegations against Pakistan. We do so again in the hope that the representative of India will see the situation in the Indian-occupied Kashmir as the world sees it, and will not close his eyes to the facts of history and those contained in the records of this very Organization.

The representative of India has called Kashmir an integral part of India. Nothing could be further from the truth. Contrary to what India may like us to believe, Kashmir remains a disputed territory, and it is recognized as such by the United Nations. There are no legal, political or moral grounds for India to claim otherwise. No one can deny that the dispute is still on the agenda of the Security Council and that the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute remain unimplemented. These resolutions called for the determination of the future disposition of Kashmir on the basis of the wishes of the Kashmiri people, expressed through a free and impartial plebiscite held under the auspices of the United Nations. These resolutions remain as relevant and valid today as they were when first adopted.

Let me remind the Indian representative of one of the many statements made by India's leaders on its commitment to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. In 1952 the late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stated before the Indian Parliament:

> "I want to stress that it is only the people of Kashmir who can decide the future of Kashmir. It is not that we have merely said that in the United Nations and to the people of Kashmir; it is our conviction, and one that is borne out by the policy that we have pursued, not only in

> Kashmir but everywhere. I started with the presumption that it is for the people of Kashmir to decide their own future. We will not compel them. In that sense the people of Kashmir are sovereign."

Kashmir is a disputed territory, and it is not an integral part of India. Any assertion to the contrary only militates against the legality of the Security Council resolutions.

The Indian representative, in his endeavour to present a distorted picture of the spontaneous indigenous and popular uprising in the Indian-held Kashmir, has alleged that it was Pakistan which was instigating and abetting the so-called terrorism in the territory. These charges are diametrically opposed to the reality on the ground. While rejecting such unfounded charges as baseless, I should like to reiterate Pakistan's repeated offers to India for establishing a neutral mechanism such as the stationing of impartial international observers along the line of control to monitor, carry out surveillance and investigate the situation and reach independent conclusions.

India's rejection of such a constructive proposal lays bare the hollowness of its allegations and reveals its true intent - to divert world attention from the gruesome situation in Indian-occupied Kashmir. In any event, the line of control is one of the most heavily guarded and patrolled areas in the world, and it is almost impossible for anyone to get across the line unnoticed and unchallenged.

The fact is that the people of Indian-held Kashmir have risen up after years of suppression at the hands of the Indian authorities and are demanding their inalienable right to self-determination. In reply to this demand, the Government of India has unleased a dark reign of terror and brutal oppression, in which more than 10,000 innocent Kashmiri men, women and children have been killed, thousands have been maimed, many more are being subjected to inhuman torture, hundreds of women have been molested, and scores of neighbourhoods have been set to the torch.

The Simla agreement of 1972 between India and Pakistan, to which India refers so often, in no way altered the status of the territory, which continues to remain a disputed territory. On the contrary, the agreement recognized the Kashmir dispute as an outstanding issue awaiting peaceful settlement. The Simla agreement also clearly provided that the United Nations Charter shall govern relations between the parties. Furthermore, the agreement does not exclude resort to means of pacific settlement of disputes, as provided in the Charter. The Indian representative is therefore wrong in saying that Pakistan has departed from the letter and spirit of the Simla agreement by raising the issue in the United Nations.

Pakistan, for its part, remains committed to a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan and in the spirit of the Simla agreement.

Mr. VYAS (India): I have no intention of prolonging this exchange with Pakistan at this hour. The inherent contradictions in the statement of the representative of Pakistan are quite clear. No amount of misleading propaganda will alter the position that Jammu and Kashmir is, and will always remain, an integral part of India. The people of Kashmir have freely decided, through the democratic process, to fuse their destiny with the destiny of India. The only people of Kashmir who have not been permitted to do so are the inhabitants of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The only dispute that remains in Kashmir is the vacation of Pakistani aggression.

India and Pakistan, and indeed this Assembly, have far more constructive things to do than to go through this futile exercise every year. Pakistan is aware of India's many proposals to improve bilateral relations and boost mutual confidence, and stands ready to work with Pakistan once it clarifies its intentions in this regard and acts accordingly for the benefit of both countries and the region.

Mr. KHAN (Pakistan): The representative of India cannot deny the continued perpetration of massive violations of human rights in Indian-held Kashmir, nor can his isolated voice claiming Kashmir to be an integral part of India alter the status of the territory recognized as disputed by the United Nations.

The facts are simple, clear, well-known and on the record of the United Nations. The future of Jammu and Kashmir has to be determined in accordance with the wishes of the Kashmiri people expressed through a free and impartial plebiscite held under United Nations auspices.

No amount of coercion can suppress for long a people seeking their right to self-determination. Pakistan seeks good-neighbourly relations with India and has always endeavoured to enter into a constructive dialogue with it with a view to resolving peacefully all outstanding disputes, including that of Jammu and Kashmir, on the basis of justice and fair play.

At the Non-Aligned Summit Meeting earlier this month, the Prime Minister of Pakistan called upon his Indian counterpart to work with him towards an equitable solution to this potentially explosive issue in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and in the spirit of the Simla agreement. We also invited the Indian Prime Minister to join him in erecting a new structure of peaceful cooperation between the two countries based on

(Mr. Khan, Pakistan)

sovereign equality, mutual benefit, pacific settlement of disputes and non-interference in internal affairs.

We take this opportunity to reiterate to the representative of India the sentiments expressed by Pakistan's Prime Minister during the Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta.

The meeting was suspended at 8.05 p.m. and resumed at 8.30 p.m.*

AGENDA ITEM 8 (continued)

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION OF WORK

(a) LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (A/47/456)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.1)

The PRESIDENT: In connection with the consideration of this item a letter addressed to me by the President of the Security Council has been circulated in document A/47/456. The General Assembly also has before it a draft resolution issued as document A/47/L.1.

I call on the representative of the United Kingdom to introduce the draft resolution

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I have the honour to introduce draft resolution A/47/L.1. In addition to the 12 States members of the European Community, in whose name I speak, and of Morocco, the following Member States have become sponsors of the draft resolution: Afghanistan, Albania, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, the Comoros, Croatia, Egypt, Finland, Iceland, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Malaysia, Malta, Mauritania, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Slovenia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates and the United States of America.

On 19 September the Security Council adopted resolution 777 (1992). In the preamble the Council considered that the State formerly known as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had ceased to exist and recalled its resolution 757 (1992), which noted that the claim to continuity had not been generally accepted. In the first operative paragraph, the Council considering that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) cannot continue automatically the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations, recommended to the Assembly that it decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) shall not participate in the work of the Assembly and should apply for membership in the United Nations.

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* The President returned to the Chair.

By adopting the draft resolution before us today, the Assembly would thus act upon the recommendation of the Council and in this way follow the procedure laid down in the Charter for membership questions. The text before us does two things. First, the Assembly would decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) shall not participate in the work of the General Assembly: this means in particular that no representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) will sit in the seat of Yugoslavia in any organ of the Assembly. Second, the Assembly would decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) should apply for membership in the United Nations. In other words, as regards the need to submit an application for membership, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) is in precisely the same position as other components of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina each duly submitted applications in accordance with the Charter and were admitted to membership earlier this year. If and when an application is submitted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) it would likewise be considered in accordance with the Charter. The conditions for admission to membership set out in Article 4 of the Charter are clear: the applicant must be a peace-loving State; it must accept the obligations contained in the Charter;

and it must, in the judgment of the Organization, be able and willing to carry out these obligations.

In operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution the Assembly takes note of the intention of the Security Council to consider the matter again before the end of the main part of the forty-seventh session - that is to say, before the session recesses in the second half of December. The fact that the Council is ready to consider the matter again within the next three months is significant. The tragic situation in the former Yugoslavia is a matter of the highest concern to all members of the international community. The International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, which opened in London on 26 August and which now meets in Geneva, brings together the efforts of the United Nations and the European Community. We must do everything in our power to encourage the parties, with the assistance of the Conference Co-Chairmen, to settle their differences at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. That the Council has decided to consider the matter again before the end of the year will, we trust, be a helpful incentive to all the parties concerned, and an effective means of support to the Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia in their heavy task.

In conclusion let me say that it gives me, and those who have also sponsored the draft resolution, no pleasure to have to introduce this draft resolution today. It would have been far preferable if it had not been necessary to go through this process, if the Belgrade authorities had accepted that they had to apply for membership on the same footing as other components of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In no sense is this draft resolution a punitive measure, nor one designed to undermine the peace process. Quite the contrary. It is a measure that we have been forced to

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

take by the completely unjustified claim by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to represent the continuity of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The situation is without precedent and was clearly not foreseen by the authors of the Charter. But the sponsors are satisfied that the Council and the Assembly must by necessary implication have the power under the Charter to act in this way in this unforeseen situation.

The way ahead is in the hands of the authorities in Belgrade. It is for them to draw the logical conclusion from the decision which the Assembly is being invited to take. It is for the authorities in Belgrade to convince the United Nations that they meet the requirements for admission to membership.

On behalf of the sponsors I commend draft resolution A/47/L.1 to the Assembly.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Mr. Milan Panic, who has expressed the wish to make a statement on the item under consideration, and I now call on him.

Mr. PANIC (Yugoslavia): I sincerely appreciate this opportunity to address the Assembly today on behalf of the people of Yugoslavia. I wish particularly to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the high and noble position of the presidency, and I am sure that you will greatly help the smooth and efficient running of this session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Panic, Yugoslavia)

The issue before the Assembly now is: more peace or more war? Yesterday the Assembly heard the President of a country that is a neighbour of mine argue in favour of more war. Today I shall present the Assembly with an argument and a programme for more peace.

The Assembly has also heard arguments here for not accepting the participation of Yugoslavia in the noble work of the United Nations. At the United Nations Conference on refugees in Geneva in late July, I said that I accepted not being accepted, and asked the representatives to stop the politics and start talking about refugee problems. Some members may know that I have some understanding of how a refugee feels, because I myself was a political refugee from Tito's Yugoslavia, and I lived in a refugee camp in Germany. I have some of the same feelings today: too many are talking politics when they should be talking peace.

From the first day that my new Government of Yugoslavia took office, two months ago, we have cooperated with the United Nations in every way possible. We will continue to do so regardless of the action that the Assembly takes here today. My only goal is to restore peace and stability to the Balkans.

We are now at a turning point when this great Organization devoted to peace must decide whether peace is furthered by sending arms in or taking arms out. The Balkans are already polluted with too many weapons. It is in a sense an environmental problem of tragic proportions.

Please hear my message. Do not authorize the means for a broadening of the conflict. We need more United Nations monitors and peace-keeping forces in the Balkans, not more arms for the parties to the conflict.

(Mr. Panic, Yugoslavia)

Let us devise a creative and effective means of controlling and removing the arms that are already there. My Government will cooperate fully with the United Nations in any manner it wishes in order to bring the weapons under control and end the fighting and killing.

We have repeatedly offered to accept United Nations monitors at our airfields and on our borders. In London, on 26 August, I requested that several thousand peace-keeping forces be sent to patrol our borders, and offered to help the United Nations with logistical support to cover some of the expenses. I renew that request now.

I ask members to come to Yugoslavia and assure themselves that no support is flowing from Yugoslavia to combatants in Bosnia or Croatia. My Government has given orders to stop any support for combatants in Bosnia and Croatia, but, as in many other parts of the world, we still have some militant nationalists who defy our orders. We need the help of the United Nations. We welcome its help. Let me repeat: Please come as peacemakers, not as suppliers of weapons for those who wish to fight.

Let us also look at the facts of the situation with regard to foreign troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I assure the Assembly that all Yugoslav troops have been withdrawn from Bosnia. United Nations Command has confirmed this. A New York Times article of 19 September, based largely on United States and British intelligence sources, said that the Yugoslav army had been withdrawn from Bosnia on 19 May, and that nearly all of the irregulars from Bosnia had been withdrawn. The same article said that 30,000 regular and 10,000 irregular Croatian troops are fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I state that strictly for factual reasons and not to exacerbate the situation with Croatia.

Yet Croatia sits in here in the Assembly, not subject to any criticism or sanction. I admit that I am new to international affairs, but this looks like a double standard to me.

I call upon the United Nations to demand that all foreign troops and irregular volunteers be withdrawn from Bosnia and Herzegovina immediately under threat of the imposition of sanctions. That would be even-handed and part of the peace process.

I should like to address the question of continuity and recognition of new countries that were once republics of the former Yugoslavia. The position of my Government on recognition has been clearly stated on several occasions in recent weeks. We recognize borders between republics that were established by Tito's Communist regime as now being international borders. I declare once again here that Yugoslavia has no territorial claims against any of its neighbours.

We have negotiated most of the issues in our relationship with Croatia, we believe, and hope that we will soon reach agreement with Croatia on mutual recognition. We have stated that we recognize the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its existing borders and are prepared to recognize its Government when all three ethnic communities in Bosnia reach an agreement on the organization of their State or Government.

The problems of the Government of Bosnia must be resolved by the Bosnians - all the Bosnians. The problem is not in Belgrade, as claimed yesterday by the President of Bosnia: the problem lies in Sarajevo. The Government of Bosnia represented here in this body must convince all the people of Bosnia that it truly represents their interests. That is the road to peace in Bosnia. They must truly represent the interests of Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

But I do not wish to speak for Bosnia, or for all of Yugoslavia. I speak only for the new Yugoslavia, whose Government I represent. The Constitution of Yugoslavia vests the conduct of foreign relations in the Yugoslav Government. The two constituent republics, Serbia and Montenegro, have no legal role in the foreign affairs of Yugoslavia.

World leaders and representatives of international organizations meet with me and ask my help in stopping the fighting in Bosnia and ending the fear of Serbian territorial expansion, but they give me no help or support with respect to my internal struggle, in Yugoslavia. With those militant nationalists who oppose my policies of peace, they even bolster the position of my principal internal opponents by meeting with them on their visits to Yugoslavia. Please stop this. Hold me and my Government responsible and accountable for the policies and actions of Yugoslavia, but give us the help and international recognition we need in pursuing our programme of peace.

I herewith formally request membership in the United Nations on behalf of the new Yugoslavia, whose Government I represent. I am certain that my country and my Government satisfy the conditions for membership at least as well as the countries and Governments many here today represent. Yugoslavia was a founding Member of the United Nations and has always lived up to its principles. My Government honours those principles and struggles to uphold them under very difficult circumstances. I seek the Assembly's support and recognition. Do not undermine a man of peace and the peace-loving Yugoslavs.

One of the major concerns of the world with regard to Yugoslavia is "ethnic cleansing" and the hundreds of thousands of refugees created by this vile practice. "Ethnic cleansing" is a horrible, unacceptable and unforgivable practice. I have moved actively against it in Yugoslavia. I recently fired the Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs, who failed to support my Government programme of opposition to "ethnic cleansing". I had the Mayor and three others arrested and put in jail in a town where "ethnic cleansing" had been practised against Croatians. Wherever it occurs, in any of the republics of the old Yugoslavia, "ethnic cleansing" must be stopped and reversed.

But in our reaction to the horrors of "ethnic cleansing" let us guard against slipping into intolerance. We must not permit the war in Bosnia to become a religious war, a war of Muslims against Christians, supported from outside by other Muslims and Christians. Surely the United Nations must rise above this. The Organization was founded in opposition to the religious and racial intolerance that produced the Second World War. This Organization must stand for peace and tolerance everywhere. There is no place in the modern world for religious blocs.

Please forgive a personal note on tolerance. I am Serbian Orthodox. My wife is Catholic. My daughter is married to a Muslim. I have two Muslim grandchildren. I have Croatians among my ancestors. Personally and philosophically, I am opposed to ethnic and religious intolerance.

I believe that in the post-Communist era the major Powers have a special responsibility to ensure the stable political and economic transformation of emerging democracies. They must take particular care to promote ethnic and religious tolerance and to guard against being influenced in carrying out that responsibility by pressure exerted by special-interest blocs or nations. Either we are all equal or some are more equal than others. I, of course, prefer the former option. Let me emphasize that without true tolerance, we cannot have true peace.

It is difficult to preach tolerance to those who are suffering under economic sanctions that have not been applied in an evenhanded way to all of the parties to the conflict. But my Government does preach tolerance, because it is right to do so and because tolerance leads to peace.

Once again let me emphasize that my message today is a message of peace. My Government is pursuing a programme of peace, and we need the help and understanding of this body. The Assembly's acceptance of the transformation we are seeking to implement and its recognition would further the cause of peace. I fear that its rejection would impair it.

I should like to draw attention to a resolution that the Yugoslav Federal Assembly approved today, which clearly emphasize the grave concern over the draft resolution on the membership of Yugoslavia in the United Nations. The resolution is available here, and I ask that it receive due attention. In the name of peace, I thank representatives for listening to what I have had to say.

Mr. NOBILO (Croatia): The draft resolution we are discussing tonight is the last act in the international delegitimization of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but not, unfortunately, the end of the great suffering of the people of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, victims of Serbian aggression.

The delegitimization of Yugoslavia and the non-violent transformation of the area into sovereign States enjoying good-neighbourly relations could have been resolved peacefully and without bloodshed. The hesitation and doubts of the international community, its avoidance of a timely and resolute response to an aggressive, imperial policy aimed at creating Greater Serbia and the global community's failure to recognize the elementary right of nations to self-determination unfortunately contributed indirectly to the tragedy of war.

Croatia is not witnessing the expulsion of Serbia and Montenegro from the General Assembly with a feeling of triumph, though it considers itself the moral and political victor in the war that was forced upon it. For us, this is an act that both resolves the legal dilemma of the status of the former Yugoslav States and clarifies the issues concerning the succession of

States in the area. We also appeal to other United Nations bodies to adhere to the provisions of the draft resolution we are adopting.

Croatia understands the pragmatic tone of the draft resolution, but wishes to reiterate that a clear line should be drawn between necessary political pragmatism and harmful compromises that the Belgrade regime interprets as weakness on the part of the global community and a stimulus to continue its aggression. Because of this, Croatia looks forward to the consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 777 (1992) and of the General Assembly resolution we are about to adopt.

The lowering of the flag of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in front of the United Nations building not only represents the first symbolic step in the implementation of those documents, but is a legal and logical necessity, because Belgrade has itself renounced the very same flag.

Consistent implementation of the resolution would also imply respect for all criteria regarding the admission of Serbia and Montenegro to the United Nations. Croatia is prepared to vote in favour of their admission to the United Nations, but only after they have met all the criteria regarding, first, the cessation of aggression against neighbouring States as well as recognition of their sovereignty and territorial integrity within existing borders, internal democratization and protection of human rights and the rights of minorities.

Croatia is a sponsor of the draft resolution and will vote for it in the belief that it will play a pivotal role in resolving the issue of succession and contribute to the success of the Geneva negotiations and to a comprehensive solution of the crisis in this part of Europe.

Mr. SACIRBEY (Bosnia and Herzegovina): By the democratic expressions of the constituent peoples of its now-sovereign States and Members of the United Nations, the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has ceased to exist. Serbia and Montenegro are not legally entitled to succeed to the position of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This is applicable to this body as well as to other related and similar international organizations. We would hope that such organizations will follow the precedent that will be established here tonight.

Our support for such steps is not motivated by vengefulness. We are committed to the orderly process of succession. Serbia and Montenegro cannot preempt this orderly process of succession by unilateral action. We must emphasize that we look forward to the day when Serbia and Montenegro join the community of States in the United Nations and this Assembly, and we look forward to their being held to the same standards as we all were required to meet upon our admission to the United Nations.

Therefore, we trust that the record of the present regime in Serbia and Montenegro with respect to human rights abuses and aggression against its neighbours will at that time have been remedied.

I wish the Prime Minister of the so-called Yugoslavia the best in overcoming, as he puts it, the militants in his country. I wish him the best in, as he puts it, his efforts as a man of peace. But we must deal with the unfortunate and tragic truth in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We do not have peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We do not seek war, but we do seek the means to bring peace to our country.

It is not true that aggression against our country has stopped. Daily, planes of the Yugoslav People's Army fly against our cities and against our people. Daily, new weapons and troops are introduced into our republic.

We, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, have a legal Government; that Government deserves to be recognized by all its neighbours in order to promote peace. It is a Government composed of Serbs, Croats and Muslims. Those who oppose it are involved in aggression against our people and against our very existence.

We are hopeful that our actions here this evening will not only establish an orderly succession for the former Yugoslavia, but also help promote peace, basic human rights and stability in our region. Therefore, we offer our support for this draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this item. We shall now proceed to consider draft resolution A/47/L.1. Before calling on the first speaker in explanation of vote before the voting, let me remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. IBN CHAMBAS (Ghana): My delegation, Sir, will have a more auspicious occasion to congratulate you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

The situation in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a major development that is likely to influence in a significant way the outlines of the new world order we seek to establish. The world has justly condemned the atrocities that are being perpetrated by all sides in the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Ethnic cleansing" is abhorrent and can only return the world to the chaos of the First and Second World Wars. The United Nations has an obligation to put a stop to it. It is a denial of the dignity and worth of the human person and of the most basic human rights.

Ghana believes that the purposes of the United Nations could be better served by including all States in the membership of the Organization. Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Charter not only aspire to include all States in international efforts to achieve peace and prosperity, but also, and more importantly, point the way to measures that can be taken to sanction any State that goes against the obligations of membership. It cannot and should not be the intent of those Articles to deny membership wilfully and capriciously to any State.

In anticipation of the situation that now faces our Organization, in which a Member State has undergone territorial or constitutional changes, the General Assembly determined in 1947 that as a general rule such a State should not cease to be a Member simply by virtue of such changes. We wish to read into that determination the desire to promote universality in the membership of our Organization.

The Yugoslav situation also brings into focus the relationship the United Nations should maintain with regional arrangements or agencies, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter. The prejudicial actions or measures that were taken in the name of regional security arrangements have not promoted the search for peace in Yugoslavia. Regional arrangements or agencies, and their activities, should be consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Above all, the United Nations should be, and should also be seen to be, a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of our common ends.

Another consideration that has influenced our position on the draft resolution relates to the respective mandates of the Charter organs, in this case the unacceptable presumption that the Security Council can make recommendations to the General Assembly on who can participate in its work. The Security Council was given primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security simply to facilitate speedy action by our Organization in the event of crisis. The delegation of responsibility by the General Assembly to the Security Council cannot and should not extend to responsibility for participation in the work of other organs.

The draft resolution before us does not reflect any principled position in terms of the Charter. Nor is it likely to advance the search for peace in Yugoslavia. It may even undermine current endeavours. It also subtracts from our efforts towards the democratization of the United Nations. The expanded role the Security Council has implicitly given itself may compromise the cherished principle of universality, which could become subject to the veto power wielded by a few members of the Security Council.

As a small developing country, Ghana seeks refuge in international law and the principles of the United Nations Charter. My country's foreign policy reflects the consistent application of principle. The draft resolution before us may be pragmatic, but it cannot be said to be principled, logical or consistent to the extent that it allows for Yugoslav participation in the work of our Organization, other than that of the General Assembly. Principle should not be made to yield to temporary expediency.

(Mr. Ibn Chambas, Ghana)

For all those reasons, which are relevant to our efforts to establish a new order that will reflect a greater degree of transparency and enjoy the confidence of all Members of the United Nations, Ghana has decided to abstain in the vote on draft resolution A/47/L.1.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): When, three days ago, the Security Council adopted its resolution 777 (1992), whose provisions are now reflected in draft resolution A/47/L.1, on which the General Assembly is about to take a vote, Zimbabwe expressed a number of fundamental concerns. Since then, my delegation has listened very carefully to the explanations made by the sponsors of the draft resolution before us. Nothing they have said has allayed any of the concerns that have been a source of preoccupation for my delegation.

First, this Organization has a well-thought-out and well-written Charter. It is the Charter that should guide all decisions of the United Nations. The principles governing membership of the United Nations are clearly spelled out in Articles 4, 5 and 6 of the Charter. The text of the draft resolution before us makes no reference to any provision of the Charter under which the proposed action would be taken. Strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter, especially where membership of this universal Organization is concerned, is the only sure source of protection for small and otherwise vulnerable States. Any improvisations are bound to protect the interests of the large and the powerful at the expense of the small and the weak.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

Secondly, the draft resolution before us sets a very dangerous precedent, especially, I dare say, for States whose present composition is diverse and multi-ethnic. In the past the General Assembly has operated on the principle that a Member of the United Nations does not cease to be a Member simply because its consitution or its frontiers - or indeed its name - has been subject to change. Departure from this practice is bound to open a Pandora's box with dire consequences for the United Nations.

Thirdly, the provision that would deprive the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of its right to participate in the work of the General Assembly on the grounds that the question of succession of the former Yugoslavia has not yet been settled is being applied selectively. Three of the other constituent republics of the former Yugoslavia are already full participants in the work of the General Assembly. My delegation fully supported such participation by Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation believes that all the republics of the former Yugoslavia, including Serbia and Montenegro, should be allowed to participate fully in the work of the General Assembly. This is consistent with our view of the universality of this world body.

There are many Members seated here tonight which are products of the breakup of States. The remaining part has always retained both its seat in this Hall and its name, if it so desired. The breakaway part has always applied for, and has been granted, its own seat in the Assembly under a new name of its own choice. Never before has the question of succession been brought up in a draft resolution before the Assembly.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

Fourthly, provisions of the draft resolution are far more severe and far more drastic than those that deprived the South African regime, whose policies and practices had been declared by the international community to be a crime against humanity, of the right to participate in the work of the General Assembly. South Africa's resumption of participation is subject to the appropriate majority vote in the General Assembly only, while the draft resolution before us requires that Yugoslavia's application be subject to the appropriate majority votes both in the Security Council - where the veto power possessed by a few members can be exercised - and in the General Assembly.

Fifthly, Zimbabwe is extremely concerned at the implications for the General Assembly if the draft resolution were to be adopted. Adoption would mean that the timing of the resumption of the participation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the work of the General Assembly would ceases to be a General Assembly matter, as it is in the case of South Africa. It would become a Security Council matter - an unprecedented abdication of responsibility by this universal body.

Finally, Zimbabwe believes that the provisions of the draft resolution before us are likely to have a negative impact on the United Nations efforts at reconciliation and peacemaking that are currently under way in the region. We believe that this is the most inappropriate time to bring such a draft resolution before the United Nations, which is one of the mediating parties in the conflict.

For those reasons, my delegation will, with regret, be unable to support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. ADALA (Kenya): My delegation has carefully examined the draft resolution before the Assembly as well as the accompanying letter contained in document A/47/456. We have also examined the provisions of the Charter relevant to the draft resolution before us. We have come to the conclusion that the Security Council has not acted in strict observance of its mandate under the Charter, by recommending to the General Assembly that it decide that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia shall not participate in the work of the Assembly without first submitting an application for membership in the United Nations.

(Mr. Adala, Kenya)

Adoption of this draft resolution would be tantamount to either the suspension of a Member State from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership, as provided for in Article 5 of the Charter, or the expulsion of a Member from the Organization, as provided for in Article 6.

The draft resolution before us is silent on which of those Articles of the Charter applies or could be applied in the case of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and which would warrant the Security Council's recommendation or form the basis of action by the General Assembly.

Moreover, it is highly surprising to my delegation that such a serious and weighty decision should have been brought before the Assembly under a procedural, housekeeping item of the agenda, item 8, "Adoption of the agenda and organization of work".

We would like to reaffirm our faith in the Charter of the Organization. We hold the Security Council in very high esteem. It is the custodian of the conscience of our Organization, and indeed of the whole of mankind. We look to the Council, and to this Organization, for transparency and equity. We look to the Security Council for protection and for steadfastness in upholding the principles enshrined in the Charter.

Because the recommendation of the Security Council upon which the Assembly is being asked to base its decision contains no reference to specific acts of violation of the Charter of this Organization that would warrant this drastic action against a Member State, my delegation will find it difficult to support such a decision by the General Assembly.

Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana): The draft resolution before us is totally devoid of any indication, nay any certainty, that what we will do tonight - exclude Yugoslavia from the work of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly - will contribute in any way to a solution to the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That is true particularly as it is so clear that what the General Assembly is being asked to do tonight is not to exclude the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the forty-seventh session, but virtually to expel it from the United Nations: the virtual expulsion of a country which, grudgingly, we admit is a Member of the United Nations.

Otherwise there would have been no requirement in the draft resolution for Yugoslavia to apply for membership of the United Nations, starting in the Security Council, where the present action started, and ending in the General Assembly. In the Security Council, the application would have to run the gauntlet of the veto. No permanent member of the Security Council can say here and now that it will not veto, that all they are looking for is that the criteria for membership be met.

Yugoslavia's acts of commission or omission against Bosnia and Herzegovina must be condemned without equivocation, without any mercy. Severe punishment for such un-peace-loving acts is in order.

We have very serious reservations, however, about the wisdom of the type of punishment we are about to mete out. I shudder to contemplate the state of mind in which the gunmen now laying siege to Sarajevo - not to mention their sympathizers in Belgrade - will receive tonight's decision. Will they now feel they have nothing to lose if they intensify their murderous campaign against innocent men, women and children in Sarajevo and throughout the length and breadth of that tortured country?

Yugoslavia should be kept tightly in the clutches of the United Nations Charter by virtue of its membership of the Organization. It deserves no breathing space on the sidelines, where, rightly or wrongly feeling wronged and persecuted, it can be more troublesome than it has been so far.

It is for those reasons that my delegation will vote the way it will vote - which will be seen on the voting board.

Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): The General Assembly is about to take action on a matter of grave consequence and historic significance. My delegation would therefore like to take this opportunity to explain its vote before the vote is taken on the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1.

Let me say from the outset that my delegation has very serious reservations about the text. Some of our concerns are about the indecent haste with which this delegation is being asked to support a draft resolution over which no serious consultations took place prior to this afternoon. We believe that those of us who are not members of the Security Council - and who are therefore not privy to the information which the Security Council had before it arrived at this decision - should have been given an opportunity to consult not only with the sponsors, but also with our Governments in order to arrive at what we consider to be rational decisions.

Attempts were made by some of the sponsors late this afternoon to consult delegations. We are working against a time difference between New York and our respective capitals, and the fact that the sponsors of this draft resolution found themselves unable even to allow us the opportunity to consult our Governments on such an important decision, which has such fundamental bearing on the status of a founder Member of the United Nations, makes us believe that the sponsors had never seriously intended to consult with anyone and that it was in fact their wish to ensure that their draft resolution was adopted without consultation, without any debate, and without any changes to the texts so as to accommodate the views of others. We find this approach to international relations unacceptable because it places some of the Member States at a very, very serious disadvantage.

We also found that the sponsors lacked transparency in so far as their actual intentions were concerned in the sense that, instead of using the provisions of the Charter that are adequate to allow either the expulsion or suspension of a Member State or its rights, a much more clever formula was found to evade this particular issue, through some clever drafting of a resolution that went through the Security Council process.

We are opposed to any measures which bypass the United Nations Charter, we are opposed to measures which run parallel to the United Nations Charter, because we believe that it is part of our collective responsibility to act within the United Nations Charter to bring about solutions which are going to have a salutary bearing on the conduct of international relations.

We therefore deeply regret this lack of consultation on such an important text. We feel that it sets a very bad, indeed dangerous, precedent. We also wish to remind a number of Member States which are under a cloud from the United Nations, and particularly from the permanent members of the Security Council that, by the adoption of the draft resolution before us they are going to be opening a Pandora's box that will be used liberally against Member States by those who are going to be in charge of defining who should be and who should not be a Member. This in our opinion is a very dangerous precedent.

We are concerned that the draft resolution before us is not based on the relevant provisions of the Charter. We are also of the view that the argument that Yugoslavia cannot automatically continue the membership of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations is defective and unsustainable. We believe that the comparison of the situation in the former Yugoslavia with the situation that prevailed in the former Soviet Union regarding automatic succession is irrelevant. This is so because the conflict situation that has prevailed in the former Yugoslavia has not permitted the necessary consultation and agreement among the republics and the tribal groupings concerned on the issue of succession.

In making the recommendation contained in the first preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, it is incumbent on the Security Council to be cognizant of its grave responsibilities under the Charter and the importance of the question of membership in the United Nations. The Council should equally be cognizant of the overall authority of the General Assembly regarding the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership in accordance with the relevant Articles of the Charter. This is intended to preserve the democratic principles and practices governing the General Assembly and to prevent the imposition of the will of the minority - or what I might call the "tyranny of the minority" in this particular case.

The adoption of this draft resolution would in our view set a very dangerous precedent with grave implications for the interests of Member States and the credibility of the United Nations itself. The intentions behind the draft resolution remain totally obscure and obstructionist to the ongoing peace process on the question of the former Yugoslavia. Our analysis of the text, and in particular its operative paragraph 1, reveals that the effect of this draft resolution is in fact to expel Yugoslavia, which is a Member State.

For the foregoing reasons, my delegation will find itself unable to support the draft resolution before us. In doing so, let me stress that we in no way condone the atrocities being perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina or indeed any acts of violence being perpetrated by any of the parties to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. We feel that the General Assembly and the United Nations family should be concentrating on finding a peaceful solution to what is obviously a very complex religious, ethnic and cultural problem that requires a much deeper analysis and a much deeper understanding on our part.

It will be a sad day because, when all is said and done, history will record that when it mattered the most the General Assembly chose the easier path of expulsion. My delegation cannot subscribe to this view.

Mr. NYAKYI (United Republic of Tanzania): My delegation takes seriously all recommendations of the Security Council. In the discharge of its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council is entitled to receive the fullest possible cooperation from all Members of the United Nations. It is therefore with a great deal of reluctance that my delegation has decided not to support the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1, now before the General Assembly.

(Mr. Nyakyi, United Republic of Tanzania)

There are several reasons why we are unhappy with the present draft resolution and the way in which this issue of the membership of Yugoslavia in the United Nations has been handled.

Membership in the United Nations is a serious matter. It is a fundamental right of States that subscribe to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Depriving a State of its membership is therefore a very grave matter which should not be taken lightly by the United Nations. We would have expected the membership of the United Nations to be given an opportunity for a thorough discussion of the subject. As it is, the draft resolution was circulated only on Saturday and the General Assembly is required to vote on it today.

The membership of the United Nations has not been given a convincing reason for the rush, which is designed to deprive us of the opportunity to debate such a vitally important matter. Indeed, we have been offered no explanation for the grave decision we are about to take. Secondly, it has been introduced under agenda item 8 on organization of work. It is too grave a matter to discuss under this item. Thirdly, the Charter makes provision for the membership of a State in the United Nations and for its termination or the expulsion of an erring Member. Specifically, Articles 5 and 6 make provision for the suspension and expulsion of an erring Member.

The effect of the present draft resolution is to deprive Yugoslavia of its membership in the United Nations. Yet its authors have preferred not to use the relevant provisions of the Charter or any other law for the achievement of their objective. The draft resolution is thus based wholly on political considerations. In the view of my delegation, the United Nations is setting a very dangerous and bad precedent.

We will agree that the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has disintegrated. But this is not the first time a State Member of the United Nations has broken apart. Since the founding of the United Nations, three Member States have broken apart. In each case, the units that broke away from the main body applied for membership in the United Nations. The remaining entities were not required to reapply and their existence was never questioned. Nor is this the first time a State Member of the United Nations has changed its name. Several Member States have changed their names without having their membership in the Organization questioned.

In his Agenda for Peace, our Secretary-General has recommended more recourse to the International Court of Justice in our efforts to resolve conflicts. At a time when we are all agreed that the rule of law is a prerequisite for the emerging world order, the status of our Organization would have been greatly enhanced by our referring this matter to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion. My delegation believes that a reference to the International Court of Justice could have helped to promote a consensus on this vitally important issue. It is a matter of great regret that this course of action has not even been given a thought by the sponsors of the draft resolution.

For these reasons, my delegation will be unable to support the draft resolution now under consideration.

Mr. MONGBE (Benin) (interpretation from French): The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Benin will at the appropriate time present to you, Sir, the greetings of the people and Government of Benin on your election to the presidency of our Assembly. I am convinced that he would not begrudge me this opportunity to express the satisfaction of the delegation of

Benin at seeing you, the representative of a new democracy with which Benin has a great deal in common, occupying the prestigious position of President of the General Assembly.

The act which I shall carry out in a few moments on behalf of my delegation requires some explanation. Benin, faithful to the spirit of the Charter, is in favour of international peace and is prepared to support any initiative directed towards creating harmony between peoples within the same nation and between nations within the international community. My delegation if willing to believe, at the risk of sinning through naivety, that the draft resolution submitted for the General Assembly's consideration and likely adoption would create conditions of peace in all the States that made up the former Yugoslavia. That is why my delegation is prepared to accept the idea that none of the component parts of the former State of Yugoslavia can automatically claim its succession. In the same spirit of justice and equity, the delegation of Benin is also willing to believe that all the former federated States of Yugoslavia - separate, independent entities today - have the right to be admitted and to belong to the great human family of the United Nations, and the General Assembly in particular.

Accordingly, the possibility offered by the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1 for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - to request admission, should not be deceptive. The credibility of our Organization hinges on this. My delegation and, I am sure, many others that did not consider it necessary to speak on this occasion will judge the ethics of our action through the subsequent conduct of certain delegations that have initiated the draft resolution.

(Mr. Mongbe, Benin)

The delegation of Benin believes that the establishment of lasting peace in that part of the world will depend on the sincere support offered by the international community to the peace process initiated at the London Conference by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the European Community. The search for such peace must preclude any tendency towards the practice of ostracism.

I do not wish to be nor shall I be a prophet of doom, but I do believe that any act committed in the heat of passion or to settle accounts and aimed at deceiving might turn the Balkans into a fearsome and genuine political volcano. My delegation is counting on the sense of responsibility of all delegations present here and would like to reflect the hope of the peoples of the world to see peace established in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the other parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia by calling upon all nations represented here to facilitate the achievement of peace by erecting no obstacle to the admission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - the United Nations. In other words, there will be no veto exercised. That is clear.

It is on this understanding and at this price and this price alone that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary will vote in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1. The position of Hungary on this matter is reflected in the central element of the draft resolution: the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - cannot be the automatic successor in the United Nations of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has ceased to exist, and therefore the authorities in Belgrade must present a request for admission to membership in our world Organization.

Hungary believes that such unilateral declarations as that published in Belgrade on 27 April, cannot constitute a legal basis for a decision on the status of the ex-Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in international organizations, and that the problems of membership in the United Nations should be settled only on the basis of a common agreement accepted by all the

States successors to the former Yugoslavia. In the absence of such an agreement, the future status in the United Nations of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - cannot differ from that of the other former Yugoslav republics, three of which have already been admitted to membership of the United Nations as independent and sovereign States.

In our view, it is indispensable that when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - decides to present to the United Nations a request for admission to membership, that request be dealt with on the basis of the same criteria that guided us during the admission to membership of the United Nations of other States successors to the former Yugoslav federation, also taking account of developments in the region.

In political terms - and I emphasize political - the draft resolution submitted is in reality only the logical result of the judgement which the international community has constantly brought to be bear on the situation that has emerged in the field, a judgement that has been reflected in a number of resolutions adopted by the Security Council, namely, that the primary responsibility for the bloody events that have been laying waste the territory of the former Yugoslavia for a year and a half must undeniably be borne by the authorities in Belgrade. This evening, it is impossible to ignore the atrocities and wanton destruction committed in the former Yugoslavia, acts that are almost impossible to imagine taking place in those lands at the end of the twentieth century. It is also difficult to escape the effects of bitterness, frustration and disillusion that we have all felt during this period.

And yet, at this stage of events we are convinced that we must look to the future. We must seek out what can bring us out of this conflict and restore peace to the peoples of that region, to the Serbs as well as to

Croats and Muslims, and to the other nations of the former Yugoslavia, including its ethnic minorities. We hope that the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - will be able to draw the necessary consequences from the General Assembly's decision this evening, and that they will be able to translate them into action in their international and regional activities - most particularly within the framework of the London Conference - in full respect for democratic values, human rights, and the rights of minorities.

In this enterprise, Hungary, as a State Member of the United Nations, a country of the region, and a neighbour linked to the southern Slavic peoples by countless ties forged in a long history of cohabitation, urges perseverance and expresses its every wish of success to Prime Minister Panic and to all those in Serbia who claim to be committed to the cause of a just and lasting peace in the region and who are sparing no efforts to ensure that the dark forces of hatred, exclusion and ethnic cleansing be eliminated and that democracy, tolerance and respect for diversity and each other's rights prevail in these wounded lands.

The PRESIDENT: We have just heard the last speaker in explanation of vote before the voting.

The Assembly will now take a decision on draft resolution A/47/L.1. In connection with draft resolution A/47/L.1, I would like to announce that Bangladesh has become a sponsor.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belarus, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Comoros, Congo, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Djibouti, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Estonia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Marshall Islands, Mauritania, Mauritius, Micronesia (Federated States of), Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, San Marino, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Slovenia, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Vanuatu, Yemen

Against: Kenya, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe

Abstaining: Angola, Bahamas, Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Cameroon, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ghana, Guyana, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Lebanon, Lesotho, Mexico, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka, Togo, Uganda, Viet Nam, Zaire

Draft resolution A/47/L.1 was adopted by 127 votes to 6, with 26 abstentions (resolution 47/1).

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* Subsequently, the delegations of Saint Lucia and Lebanon advised the Secretariat that they had intended to vote in favour.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes.

May I remind delegations that, in accordance with General Assembly decision 34/401, explanations of vote are limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. ABDULLA SHAHID (Maldives): My delegation supported draft resolution A/47/L.1 on the basis that there is no agreement among the republics that comprised the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerning the status of the original United Nations seat of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Hence, in the absence of such an agreement, Maldives is unable to accept the claim of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia-Montenegro - to that seat.

The Maldives co-sponsored and supported resolutions admitting the newly independent States of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations. In this context, we shall support the membership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia when its application comes before the Assembly.

The Maldives' support for this resolution is also based on the understanding that it does not affect bilateral diplomatic relations between Member States and the republics of former Yugoslavia.

Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): Mexico has given careful consideration to the draft resolution just adopted, as well as to the overall situation in the territory of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. My delegation did not vote in favour of the draft resolution for the following reasons.

In the first place, we consider that the complex and sensitive situation in former Yugoslavia, the most painful manifestation of which is the tragedy taking place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, requires exertion of the greatest possible efforts to bring about a political solution negotiated between the parties to the conflict. In our view, the isolation of one of those parties, irrespective of whether there are reasons for singling it out as the one bearing the greater share of responsibility, will make that solution more difficult to achieve.

At the same time, we express our concern at the consequences this action may have for the future discharge of its task by the United Nations Protection Force, which is an essential element in the achievement of peace in former Yugoslavia.

Moreover, we are concerned that the text of the resolution contains nothing that would indicate its basis in law. The Charter of the United Nations makes no provision for the issue of the breakup and subsequent succession of States. On previous occasions the Security Council has, therefore, tacitly recognized the automatic replacement of the whole by one part, or has admitted the new Members that emerged from the breakup.

The resolution just adopted is of a different kind; it finds no support in Articles 4, 5 or 6 of the Charter, dealing with the conditions for membership in the United Nations and with suspension or expulsion therefrom. Thus, it has shortcomings from the legal standpoint which we find of concern at a time when the rapid changes in the political map of the world compel us to be careful to preserve the rules of international law.

The Government of Mexico considers that all aspects of the question of succession of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should be dealt with in the framework of the London Conference and resolved by means of an agreement among the parts of which that State was composed. In any event, it is our hope that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - Serbia and Montenegro - will shortly rejoin the United Nations community by means of the application for admission referred to in the resolution just adopted and in accordance with Article 4 of the Charter.

In conclusion, I should like to express, once again, the solidarity of the people and Government of Mexico with the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose suffering is a matter of concern to the whole international community.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): Brazil has been following with close attention and great concern all the aspects related to the developments in the situation in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and we remain ready to support efforts to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Reasons for special anguish to us are the dire conditions afflicting the civilian population of that region, the intolerable breaches of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the recrudescence of dreadful practices based on ethnic grounds. Brazil rejects outright such abhorrent attitudes.

Having said that, let me refer to the two reasons that have compelled my delegation to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1.

In the first place, it is still our firm belief that the Charter of the United Nations remains the paramount document governing our existence as an organization based on law. Therefore, the Charter, the actual constitution of this Organization, should not be overlooked. Questions related to admission, participation, suspension or expulsion affect the most basic rights of States in relation to the Organization, and should therefore be dealt with with the utmost care and attention, bearing in mind the fundamental need to follow the Charter strictly.

The treatment of such matters should certainly benefit from the appropriate degree of reliability, predictability and transparency, as well as

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

from clear reference to the provisions of the Charter and of the rules of procedure which it is intended to apply.

An overly imaginative interpretation of the Charter may lead to the weakening of the solid legal structure upon which the functioning of the United Nations is based. It has even been asserted, lately, that the Charter now seems to be undergoing a process of informal revision. We are concerned that Member States are ever more frequently faced with the feeling of being rushed into decisions on important matters on fluid or questionable legal grounds.

Secondly, let me stress that Brazil attaches the highest priority to the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes, and, to this end, advocates the full use of the diplomatic potential of the United Nations as a universal forum for dialogue and understanding. We are not convinced that exclusion from the General Assembly of any one of the parties to the conflict in the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will in any way be helpful to the peace efforts currently being undertaken.

We should also bear in mind the potentially negative impact of such a decision on the ability of the United Nations Protection Force to fulfil its increasingly complex tasks, as well as on the physical of its multinational personnel.

In the light of those considerations, my delegation was not in a position to support the draft resolution before us, and abstained.

Mr. AGUILAR (Guatemala) (interpretation from Spanish): The delegation of Guatemala voted in favour of the draft resolution contained in document A/47/L.1, taking into account the decision of the Security Council and the humanitarian arguments which obliged the Council to adopt that decision - indeed, the same arguments that motivated this decision by the General Assembly. However, we feel that we must clarify our position.

This case, for Guatemala, does not constitute - nor should it constitute - a precedent in United Nations practice which could be applied in future. We note that in similar cases of the breakup of States Members of the United Nations, this requirement was not imposed. This could mean selective application to specific cases, and we reject this.

Guatemala also believes that this resolution is a measure that calls into question the principle of universal participation, which is one of the main bastions of the United Nations. The delegation of Guatemala feels that it would have been desirable to have had more time so that it could have had the benefit of a legal opinion from the Department of Legal Affairs and thus been clear about the legal basis of this decision and its possible implications in respect of the interpretation of the Charter.

Guatemala reaffirms its commitment to the Charter of the United Nations and to the necessity of preserving the principles of international law that have been forged over the years.

Mrs. des ILES (Trinidad and Tobago): Trinidad and Tobago voted in favour of the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly. In doing so, we were not unmindful of the complex legal aspects of the decision before us and of the difficulties that may well ensue of the possible precedent being set.

However, the overriding consideration which determined our affirmative vote was the need to send a strong message to the Federal Government of Yugoslavia regarding respect for, and the protection of, human rights. We also wished to indicate, in positive terms, the full support of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for international action to be taken to resolve the crisis in the former State of Yugoslavia, and to prevent an escalation which could all too easily spill over and embroil neighbouring States.

Mr. NEAGU (Romania): Romania voted in favour of the resolution that has just been adopted although we are not fully convinced that in the present conditions this is the best move to be undertaken. First of all, the process of negotiations unleashed by the recent London Conference on former Yugoslavia is under way, with certain improved prospects after the visit of the two co-Chairmen, Mr. Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, to the area.

Also, we have all been encouraged by the peace programme presented by Prime Minister Milan Panic. Moreover, the very vocation of the United Nations is its universality in order to fulfil its responsibilities. It is our conviction that a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis can be found only through political dialogue with the participation, on an equal footing, of all the parties concerned.

In this respect, we appreciate the fact that the resolution does not provide for either the suspension or the exclusion of Yugoslavia from the

United Nations. The decision that Yugoslavia shall not participate in the work of the General Assembly does not preclude its participation in other United Nations organs, including the Security Council.

Another important element of the resolution is its invitation to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to apply for membership in the United Nations. We hope that this provision also implies the desire to have the new Yugoslavia in the United Nations. In any case, I can assure the Assembly that Romania will strive for that positive outcome.

Ms. MAIR (Jamaica): Jamaica abstained in the vote on the resolution before us, and our reasons are as follows.

The recommendation of the Security Council is based on the assertion that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has ceased to exist, as stated in the relevant Security Council resolution. An assertion is, by definition, a conclusion of fact and of law requiring the presentation and consideration of the relevant facts and the legal principles to support such a conclusion. However, no such facts have been stated in support of this conclusion and, as far as our delegation is aware, no authoritative legal opinion has been sought and obtained from the legal advisers of the United Nations and made available to the General Assembly for its consideration of a matter of such fundamental importance.

Therefore, we ask: where is the legal opinion on which to base a reasoned and responsible decision? In these circumstances, we are unable to form a rational opinion as to whether the assertion on which this resolution is based is one which we can either support or reject.

(Ms. Mair, Jamaica)

We do wish, however, to make it clear that our abstention does not mean that we either condone or view lightly the atrocities that have been committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and we support strongly any condemnation of those responsible for such atrocities once such responsibility has been clearly established.

We do, however, have the most serious reservations, indeed objection, to a procedure such as the one that has been adopted, and the manner in which the Security Council has proceeded to present this to the General Assembly. We are concerned that a dangerous precedent is being established which could return to haunt this Organization. For these reasons, our delegation abstained.

Mr. INSANALLY (Guyana): Like many other delegations in the Assembly, Guyana had great concern about the lack of a clear legal basis for the resolution that has just been adopted. We were hard put, in the circumstances, to understand fully its legal implications and possible consequences. Standing as it does against the background of Articles 5 and 6 of the Charter, which deal, respectively, with suspension and expulsion, this important measure should have been - at least in our view - appropriately clothed with legal argument.

The text purports to convey the view of the members of the Security Council on the right of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - that is, Serbia and Montenegro - to a seat in the General Assembly. The Council may have indeed had compelling reasons for making this recommendation to the Assembly; however, since we - and, certainly, my delegation - have not been privy to the Council's thinking, my delegation had to exercise some caution at this time.

(Mr. Insanally, Guyana)

We would certainly have wished to have some guidance, perhaps from the Legal Counsel of this Organization, to be able to determine the full import of the recommendation put to us this evening. In the absence of such guidance, and because of our lingering doubts, we were obliged to abstain in the vote - and this we did, like so many others, for fear that an acceptance might come back one day to haunt us.

Finally, let me make it clear that Guyana fully condemns the doctrine and practice of "ethnic cleansing". We very much regret, therefore, that the issue has arisen in this confused and confusing context.

The PRESIDENT: We have concluded this stage of our consideration of agenda item 8. I thank representatives for their participation in the work of the General Assembly during this very long day.

The meeting rose at 10.20 p.m.